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CHAPTER XIX

THE DYNASTY OF AGADE AND THE GUTIAN INVASION

I. THE REIGN OF SARGON

WITH the appearance of this imposing figure, vast but dim to later generations of Babylonians hardly less than to us, the historical memory of the people was enriched with its most abiding treasure. Yet the written tradition, so far as it is at present available to us, does scant justice to a king who could not only achieve greatness but could record it for posterity more clearly than any before and most after him. The inscriptions of Sargon[1] must have been numerous and their remains show that they were informative and detailed as to his warlike and religious, possibly even his civil, transactions. With a different language something of a new spirit came into the records, and seemed for a time to overcome the historical reticence which is so disappointingly manifest in other not inglorious periods of the nation's experience. The inscriptions are mostly lost or not yet recovered, though a few remain in copies made by scribes who perused the statues and trophies laid up in the great central shrine at Nippur. The Sumerian king-list[2] spares but two or three remarks upon the founder himself and relapses into its customary tale of names and numbers for the rest of the Dynasty of Agade; and all else is anecdote preserved and perhaps adapted for special ends.

A miraculous or a mysterious origin is essential to superhuman characters, and Sargon was the first to show that the taste of the ancient eastern peoples was to be for the latter. Like several notable successors he had, and did not disguise, an obscure birth and a humble beginning. The account of this is not only explicit but conveyed in a form which purports to be his own words. Only the first few lines are preserved of Assyrian tablets which begin, 'I (am) Sargon, the mighty king, king of Agade', and go on to relate the birth and earliest years of the speaker, name in broken

[1] A full list of the inscriptions of Sargon and the succeeding kings of Agade, as well as of other texts relating to their reigns, is published in G, 17, 193 ff. and A, 25.

[2] G, 18.

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lines some of his subsequent conquests, and then break off.[1] It is not, indeed, likely that the words are an authentic utterance of the great king; the class of composition to which this text belongs was regularly cast in the form of personal record as though taken from an inscription, but there is much to suggest that they were the productions of a later age, having a didactic bent and perhaps a certain philosophy of history.[2] One such recorded inscription even purported to recount, in the god's own words, the life and beneficent achievements of 'the god Marduk, the great lord'.[3] Despite this element of forgery, these accounts were certainly based upon authentic tradition, and there is nothing incredible in the statements attributed by this 'legend' to Sargon. According to this, therefore, his mother was a priestess, his father an unknown wanderer. He was born in secret at an obscure village on the Euphrates called Azupiranu, perhaps 'Saffron Town', from a local product which has kept its name almost unaltered.[4] His mother, to rid herself of the child, enclosed him in a basket which she covered and made fast with pitch, and launched it upon the river. Miraculously preserved from drowning, he was carried downstream, and fished out by one Aqqi, a labourer in a palm-garden, who noticed the basket as his bucket dipped in the water. Aqqi took the child and reared him as his own, making him to follow the same profession.

At this point the tradition is taken up by two corroborative texts; one is the king-list itself which says that Sargon was a gardener, the other a Sumerian story of his life which repeated the details about his place of origin, and about his mother and father.[5] The next incident of this miraculous career was that the goddess Ishtar bestowed her favour upon the youth, and owing to this he was soon found in the service of Ur-Zababa, known from the king-list as a king of the Fourth Dynasty of Kish.[6] This potentate lived in great state, for one of the texts named above calls him 'the shepherd (who) rose like the sun in the temple of Kish' and he had the curious distinction of giving his name to a musical instrument.[7] But he came to offend the god Marduk, and this in a matter where Sargon was concerned. The latter had attained the intimate degree of cupbearer to Ur-Zababa, who

[1] G, 33, 119.
[2] §1, 20, erster Teil, 62 ff.; G, 13, 28 f.; A, 25, 6, no. 4.
[3] §1, 20, erster Teil, 79 ff.; §1, 14, 70, cf. 72.
[4] §1, 40, 160 f.; G, 35, 82 and 375; G, 36, 93; A, 25, 7, no. 7.
[5] §1, 35, 175 ff.; §1, 20, erster Teil, 37. [6] G, 18, 106 f.
[7] *Z.A.* 42, 147; A, 22, 115.

at this time commanded him to 'change the drink-offering of E-sagila'. Sargon, evading this impiety, and redoubling his own service to the god, weaned the divine favour from his master, and Marduk made the servant lord of the land (and, it is added, the world) in place of Ur-Zababa. But as it may be observed that the Dynasty of Kish continued for another five reigns after this successful defection, Sargon was at first no more than a rival, not a destroyer. The earlier years of his rule may have been devoted to providing himself with a capital city, for all the sources describe how he built this in a new place. But in doing so he too committed some act which the jealous god took as an impiety, for he is said to have dug out earth from Babylon for the purpose of building a city 'next to Agade', and to have called this city 'Babylon'. The incident is related in two chronicles[1] and an omen,[2] but its purport is hardly clear—it means perhaps that Sargon is accused by these late recorders of ambitiously attempting to make for himself a capital which should have the prestige enjoyed by Babylon in subsequent ages, and regarded by them as immemorial.

Such was the earlier history of the hero, with an appropriate dash of legend, but with little that need be untrue. There is much to bespeak his alien origin, and to indicate the upper Euphrates for his birthplace, although, if the story of his solitary journey be true, he cannot be considered the leader of an inferred invasion of 'Akkadians' taken to be the first 'historical' migration of Westerners into Babylonia. But his native tongue, which he was to graft upon the old Sumerian script, qualified him to enter service in the court of Kish, where kings with Semitic names had been among the earliest rulers. The rest is no more than the achievement of many an unknown youth marked out for fame—for such a man of destiny the especial favour of a deity might be taken for granted. The foundation of his new city is placed by our authorities after other chief events of his reign, but might be thought to occur more naturally after his revolt from Ur-Zababa, for he did not become master of any other existing city, and his new era could best be inaugurated from a new capital. This was signalized also by the adoption of a new name, for the obscure boy was assuredly not called at birth 'True King'. His career justified the name and gave it a magic for generations after. It was proudly borne by two Assyrian kings, the second and greater of whom disdained for it the family style of a father who had himself, upon attaining the throne, assumed the traditional glory

[1] G, 20, vol. II, 8; §1, 20, erster Teil, 54 f.
[2] §1, 30, 20, no. 73.

of the name Tiglath-pileser.[1] A just confidence in his own powers dictated his choice to Sargon of Agade, in an age to which the name adopted as an inspiration and an omen was not unfamiliar. In the reign of Naram-Sin one of his opponents, who led the revolt of Kish, adopted the defiant name 'He rallied Kish',[2] under which he has been commemorated. Even the water-man Aqqi who rescued the infant Sargon bore a name which may have proclaimed his occupation.[3] A more ancient custom was honoured when the Akkadian dynasty was established in authority, and a pair of names, 'King of all Kings' and 'Son of all Kings', which translated the old Sumerian royal convention,[4] was found among the offspring of Naram-Sin.

Upon the chronology of Sargon's reign and the order of its events we are hardly at all informed, and can be guided only by what seems the natural progression. The next dynasty in the king-list after that in which Ur-Zababa ruled at Kish was the third of Uruk, and its only member was Lugalzaggisi, who is credited with a reign of twenty-five years. The main outlines of this king's career can be traced from his own inscriptions and from other allusions. As *ensi* of Umma he took up again the inveterate war against his neighbours at Lagash, and avenged the many defeats of his predecessors by a savage destruction of the rival city.[5] Some time after this he gained possession of Uruk, and his reign of twenty-five years is doubtless reckoned from that event. During these years he added the successes claimed in his only long inscription, found upon vases dedicated at Nippur.[6] Under various titles, priestly as well as civil, he was the ruler and benefactor of Umma, Uruk, Ur, Larsa, Nippur, and two other religious centres, and specifically he asserted that the supreme god had appointed him 'king of the land', thus assuming in the most formal terms the ancient title of sovereignty among the cities of Sumer. He nowhere claims the rulership of Kish, and it is not known how or by whom the defeat of that city, posited by the king-list, was effected,[7] nor whether the victim was Ur-Zababa or one of his five successors. But a wider prospect than local domination is opened for the first time with Lugalzaggisi; in a striking passage of unmistakable import, if slightly obscure

[1] §1, 44. [2] §1, 20, erster Teil, 78; see below, p. 441.

[3] §1, 20, erster Teil, 63, n. 1; G, 35, 82.

[4] G, 42, 318; see below, p. 454.

[5] G, 39, 56 ff.; G, 3, 86 ff.; see above, pp. 143 f.

[6] G, 39, 152 ff.; G, 3, 96 ff.

[7] A Sumerian poem (G, 22, 268; A, 14) seems to ascribe the ruin of Kish to the rise of Sargon, but in any case he afterwards 'restored its place' (G, 3, 106 f.; A, 25, 36).

wording,[1] he proclaimed that not only had the god given him the kingship over 'the land' (*kalam*, i.e. Sumer), and 'directed the eye of the land upon him', but also that he 'had rendered the foreign lands (*kur-kur*) subject at his foot, and from the rising sun to the setting he had bowed the neck (of all) to him'. When this state had been achieved Enlil in addition 'from the Lower Sea (by) the Tigris and Euphrates unto the Upper Sea made straight its road, from the rising sun unto the setting he made him to have no opposer'. If by no more than a vigorous sortie, Lugalzaggisi had broken out from those limits beyond which the Sumerian chroniclers had not looked, and had shown the way to a new world for his successor to conquer.

With its usual formula the king-list records the end of this prosperous reign, and the transfer of supremacy to Agade. That Lugalzaggisi was defeated, and also captured, by Sargon we have not only this tradition, but the explicit statement of the victor, who relates in one of his inscriptions the course of his campaign.[2] A later narrator already quoted had an account of the preliminaries to this contest, but the condition of the text and its obscure phrases show little more than that messages were exchanged between Sargon and Lugalzaggisi, the latter at length refusing to listen to the overweening demands of the challenger, but being compelled finally to admit his messenger. Appeal to arms soon followed, and Sargon was first in the field. He marched swiftly to Uruk, and seems to have carried the city by a surprise attack, for he 'smote the city of Uruk and destroyed its wall' before 'he battled with the man of Uruk and defeated him', although, as another inscription adds, this commander was aided by the forces of fifty town-governors.[3] Only after these two disasters did Lugalzaggisi himself reach the field of battle, where he shared the same fate; Sargon 'captured him and brought him in a yoke to the gate of Enlil' at Nippur as a trophy to the national god, whose choice for the kingship he was shown by the issue to have forfeited, and Sargon to have inherited.

His next task was to complete the subjugation of the rest of Sumer, and his first objective the city of Ur. Whoever was the general of its forces (its Second Dynasty was probably ended by Rimush) he was defeated in the field and Sargon 'smote his city and destroyed its wall'. Next he turned against the territory of Lagash, now as often in close alliance with Ur, but having put

[1] Besides the earlier translations see recently §1, 21, 135 ff. and §1, 39, 251 n. 76.
[2] A, 25, 34 f.; G, 32, 173; G, 25, 211; G, 3, 100 ff.; A, 31.
[3] A, 25, 39; G, 32, 180; G, 3, 110 ff.

aside for the nonce its ancient feud with its neighbour Umma. E-Ninmar was the first of the cities within the domain of Lagash to be attacked and destroyed, 'and its territory from Lagash to the sea he smote (and) his weapons he washed in the sea'.[1] Of this South Babylonian alliance only one stronghold now remained, and Sargon turned back to deal with Umma. The result was no different—'with the man of Umma he did battle and defeated him and smote his city and destroyed its wall'. Hereby he was master of all the old Sumerian homeland, and his principal opponents were probably all his captives. Lugalzaggisi was taken and led in triumph, the *ensi* of Umma[2] was shown beside him upon a monument which has perished but its epigraphs have come down in a later copy, and perhaps the celebrated Urukagina of Lagash was also captured at E-Ninmar, for a person of that name,[3] whose father was formerly *ensi* of Lagash, is mentioned upon a monument of Manishtusu. Another inscription of Sargon adds to this tale of victories over the old Sumerian cities a kind of summary; it reckons that he won altogether thirty-four battles, as the result of which a real advantage was gained, for 'the ships of Meluhha, the ships of Magan, the ships of Tilmun he moored at the quay in front of Agade'. That is, the Persian Gulf was now in his power, and he was able to receive the products of the lands upon its shores or accessible only by its trade routes. Ur-Nanshe, at the beginning of the last Early Dynastic age, had been the first to proclaim that he obtained timber from Tilmun, and it was this trade which now passed into the hands of Sargon. These oversea lands of the south are reckoned to his empire both in the legend of his birth,[4] and in a late geographical list of his conquests.

The chronology of events in the reign of Sargon being uncertain, because not fixed by extant date-formulae, it will be convenient to see what other sources of information have to tell about this early stage of his career, before tracing his conquests abroad.[5] Much of what is known about these portentous figures of the Agade dynasty has been preserved in a very curious medium, the lore of those who studied the interpretations of omens derived from the examination of the entrails of victims slain for sacrifice, in pursuance of an absurd but widely accepted belief that the gods would, in answer to prayer and ceremony, indicate in this strange way their decision as to the issue of an enterprise. Ability to read what the god was deemed to write upon the liver and other organs

[1] A, 15, 27 f.
[2] G, 32, 177; A, 25, 37.
[3] §1, 21, 137 n. 107; see below, p. 449.
[4] A, 25, 7, no. 7; G, 33, 119.
[5] §1, 48.

of sheep was, indeed, the most highly esteemed of all accomplishments, and was the privilege of a closed corporation of 'seers' who professed to trace their origin from the age before the Flood, and admitted none but those qualified by birth and personal endowment to the freedom of their mystery, which was even then to be attained only by arduous study of their technique and scriptures.[1] These latter were the tablets of omens so largely represented in the literature which has survived to our own day, particularly in the remains of the Assyrian royal library at Nineveh.

The prognostications of these are for the most part general, foretelling success or discomfiture in battle or sometimes in policy, but almost exclusively with regard to military affairs. A few, however, differ by coupling the marks observed upon the entrails with the mention of historical characters,[2] and relating that the marks in question were formerly present when these personages were about to accomplish the feats for which they were celebrated in tradition. A fairly large number of the great figures of the Babylonian past are included among this company, but whereas most of them fall to be mentioned only once or twice Sargon and Naram-Sin are the heroes of many episodes recollected from notable oracles given to the diviners. Such was their importance that not only do they occur rather frequently in the usual form of brief allusion, but a special collection of observations, with historical notes of unparalleled form and length, was devoted to their augural experiences.[3] How totally this differed from the usual contents of the seers' tablets is demonstrated by the survival of almost the same matter under quite a different guise in a chronicle of the late Babylonian period.

The omens do not fail to mark the dramatic rise of Sargon in his youth. Among the oldest remains of the haruspical superstition are some clay models of the liver found at Mari;[4] one of these models shows and describes in technical terms some signs around the gall of the liver which were 'the omen of Kish, of Sargon'; presumably they foreshadowed the fall of Kish before the former cupbearer of its king, and his occupying the throne. From the special collection described above comes another sign, whereby Ishtar manifested her choice of him and her will to accomplish all his desires. This favour of the goddess was enough; there soon occurred to him an omen which preluded his supremacy, 'he had no rival'. More explicit is the message of a peculiar clay model

[1] See for a general account of this G, 9, especially ch. VI.
[2] §1, nos. 17, 30 and 47.
[3] G, 20, vol. II, 25 ff.
[4] §1, 34, 41 ff.; A, 25, 7 ff.

which shows a fantastic face made up of the convolutions of an unbroken line, representing the freakish appearance of a sheep's intestines. This repulsive apparition was thought to depict the 'face of Humbaba',[1] an outlandish giant who had been slain by the comrades Gilgamesh and Enkidu. Such a portent had been found in one of his sacrifices by Sargon: 'omen of Sargon who became master of the land'. One other tradition may concern his foundation of a new residence: '(he) let the sons of his palace dwell for five leagues on every side',[2] to which a second version of the same event adds 'five districts on every side having been cut off, he enlarged his palace, and the (head)men stood by him and said to him "Where shall we go?"'[3] In these few words is sketched a re-allocation of landed possessions in favour of adherents, similar to that which may be registered by the obelisk of Manishtusu, to be described later—it was dispossessed owners who thus demanded angrily where they were to go. As well as omens concerned with campaigns of the conqueror in the northwest and in the east there are a few also which were given to him at unspecified times; one describes some occasion, perhaps upon a campaign in the east, when a great storm fell upon his army, but at length it emerged from its distress: 'omen of Sargon to whom the light returned after going through the darkness'.[4] Finally there comes the suggestion that the tempest occurred on the eve of a battle or in the midst of it: 'omen of Sargon whose soldiers a downpour enveloped and they exchanged their weapons among themselves'.[5]

Two of Sargon's inscriptions place after the account of his victories in southern Babylonia a summary description of distant triumphs in a march up the Euphrates and widespread conquests in Syria. The original inscriptions (or rather the copies of them which have been preserved) devote only a few lines to these events, but find room for some interesting details. The first stage of his march ended at the place called Tuttul, now the town of Hīt, some ninety miles west of Baghdad. Here he 'knelt to the god Dagan... and he gave him the upper land, Mari, Iarmuti, Ibla, up to the cedar forest and the silver mountains'. A curious note is added upon his numbers—'5400 men ate bread daily before him'. Beside this original and authentic account the omens and chronicle have also something to relate of this western expedition; the chronicle says[6] that 'in the eleventh year the land of the west

[1] §1, 37, 107 ff.; §1, 42; §1, 12.
[2] G, 20, vol. II, 5.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. II, 32; §1, 30, 17, no. 67.
[4] §1, 30, 17, no. 62.
[5] *Ibid.* 9, no. 20; G, 5, vol. IV, 334*b*; *J.A.O.S.* 80, 200.
[6] G, 20, vol. II, 4.

to its limit his hand reached, he made its word (as) one, he set up his images in the west, their booty he brought over (sea) on rafts'.[1] The version in the omens[2] does not differ greatly except in naming the third instead of the eleventh year, and this receives a certain support from a reference to a 'third year' in the story called *King of the Battle* to be described later. This congruent account is nevertheless preceded in the chronicle and the omens by sentences of completely opposite import, the chronicle averring that Sargon crossed the 'sea in the east', whereas the omens call it the 'sea of the west'. It seems likely that the chronicle is here in error, since the following lines in both documents agree in relating to the west, and include the curious detail that the conqueror 'set up his images in the west'. Similar claims to conquest, and even to the establishment of memorials in the Lebanon, were registered by other early kings, Iakhdunlim of Mari[3] and his supplanter Shamshi-Adad I,[4] but it was the much later Sargon II of Assyria who erected his monument[5] in a unique situation far to the west of all others, in Cyprus, possibly in emulation of his pattern. The omens have also three other references to a conquest of the country of Amurru, that is the west; the first two[6] relate generally that he 'went to the land of Amurru, defeated it, and his hand reached over the four regions (of the world)', but the third omen[7] states that he 'went to the land of Amurru . . . smote it for the second time (and) his warriors . . . brought him forth from the midst'—the last phrase remains enigmatic owing to damage of the text. Possibly the 'second time' was the 'eleventh year' of the chronicle.

Later tradition[8] thus agrees with Sargon's own testimony that he marched up the Euphrates and became master of Syria, with its various resources. Upon this point the only details are given by the king's own inscription which, in addition to Hīt, mentions three places and two districts. The latter are not difficult to locate; the 'cedar forest' is generally agreed to be the Amanus mountains, for their name is coupled with this description by Naram-Sin and by Gudea. The 'silver mountains' are rather less definite, but it

[1] Chronicle *ina amāti ušebira*: omens *ina ⟨a⟩māti tāmta ušebira*; see G, 5, vol. I, part II, 85 and G, 36, 45*b*.

[2] G, 20, vol. II, 31 f.; §1, 30, 16, no. 61.

[3] §1, 8, 13; A, 31.

[4] §1, 9, 24 f.

[5] Upon this monument Sargon II declares that none of his predecessors had ever heard of the island (§1, 27, vol. II, nos. 186 ff.).

[6] §1, 30, 19 f., nos. 72, 74.

[7] *Ibid.* no. 75.

[8] A, 20.

seems necessary to take 'silver' no less literally than 'cedar', assuming that Sargon was interested chiefly in the valuable products of his conquests. The Taurus range, therefore, with its many deposits of lead and silver must be indicated.[1] Mari is no longer in doubt; it was the site now called Tell el-Ḥarīrī, on the Euphrates, near Abu Kamāl, as proved by recent excavation, and a later ruler[2] couples it in his kingdom with Tuttul or Hīt, just as it was the next stage in Sargon's march. Iarmuti was a place and a port upon the coast of the Mediterranean, and the evidence of the Amarna letters seems to place it somewhere south of Byblos,[3] though a location rather nearer to the other districts mentioned might be preferred. Ibla was conquered again by Naram-Sin who couples its name with Armanum which may be Aleppo itself,[4] but the more significant reference is furnished by Gudea, in a generation not far distant, who relates that he fetched three different kinds of timber from 'the city Ursu, of the mountain of Ibla'. The situation of Urs(h)u,[5] which figures also in the Mari letters and in a picturesque episode of early Hittite history, has been the matter of much argument in recent years, but it is now regarded as most likely that it was a place upon or near the Euphrates, not far to the north of Carchemish.

While therefore it is beyond doubt that Sargon carried his arms to the limits of north Syria, later tradition avers much more. One source of this is a composition[6] which bore the name *King of the Battle*. Most of this story is preserved upon a tablet in a very imperfect condition which was found in Egypt with the Amarna letters, and there are furthermore evident allusions to its subject in a broken text accompanying the celebrated 'Babylonian Map of the World' in the British Museum.[7] After some very uncertain preliminaries it appears that Sargon hears of the complaints of merchants from the city of Purushkhanda (the Hittite Parshukhanda), but it is not clear what their grievances were, nor to whom these were due; but they appealed to Sargon to champion their cause and offered him rich inducements. Only from the sequel can it be inferred that the alleged oppressor was a certain Nur-daggal, who was probably ruler of their city, and this must be, presumably, Purushkhanda. Despite the hesitation of his

[1] §1, 13, 502 f.; A, 31.
[2] §1, 43, 49.
[3] G, 35, 375 ff.; §1, 24, 235; A, 20, 5 f. See above, p. 324.
[4] G, 14, 80; §1, 25, 369 ff.; §1, 18, 70; §1, 3, 30.
[5] The most recent discussions are §1, 15, 55 f.; §1, 22, 253; §1, 11, 31; §1, 38, 42; §1, 25, 371.
[6] §1, 46; §1, 20, erster Teil, 86 ff. and zweiter Teil, 45 ff.
[7] *C.T.* part 22, 48; §1, 46, 86 ff.

followers Sargon resolved to undertake this expedition and relieve the aggrieved merchants. He enquired of the road to Purushkhanda, and was told of its incredible difficulty; one stage was encumbered with blocks of lapis-lazuli and gold, another with forest trees, others with thorny thickets. At length, overcoming all these, Sargon reached the enemy's city, to the consternation of Nur-daggal who had boasted that he could never accomplish a march through the floods and forests. His appearance in these circumstances was enough, for it appears that Nur-daggal made instant submission, and presumably agreed to redress the wrongs of the merchants, who had convenanted with Sargon the price of his aid. After this the army grew apprehensive, and murmured that it was time to return home, which was done, and Sargon resumed a peaceful rule in his own city.

The central interest of this story lies in the introduction of the city called Purushkhanda, for this place, if not exactly located, is at least proved, by evidence from two different periods, to lie in the neighbourhood of Caesarea (Kayseri) in Cappadocia.[1] It figures not only in the Hittite records, but more prominently in the affairs of the early Assyrian merchants whose business documents[2] have been found in greatest number at a site called Kültepe, about fifteen miles from Kayseri; and from Kültepe (the ancient Kanesh) there were only four caravan stages to Purushkhaddum, as it is called in those tablets. It is generally concluded to have lain to the south or south-west of the great Salt Lake of central Anatolia.[3] If the *King of the Battle* has any historical foundation, Sargon did not stop short at the mountain barrier, but extended his sway deep into Asia Minor.

There are suspicious features in this narration, and these, coupled with its incomplete state and consequent want of clarity, have raised doubts whether any authentic history can be drawn from it or whether the whole incident must be dismissed as a later flourish upon a legendary figure.[4] It is hardly reassuring that the story seems to originate in Syria rather than from Babylonia itself, and that it is somehow involved in the description of strange and far regions which was inscribed upon the 'Map of the World'. Despite this it cannot be overlooked that genuine historical elements are present, especially the merchants in a district where

[1] See W. M. Calder and G. E. Bean, *A Classical Map of Asia Minor* (Supplement to *A.St.* 7, 1957), square Je; E. Forrer in *R.L.A.* II, 82.

[2] See below, ch. XXIV, sects. VII to X; A, 17.

[3] §1, 15, 64; §1, 5, 20 f.; A, 17, 123; A, 20.

[4] G, 35, 83 ff. and 375; §1, 1; §1, 6.

copious evidence exists of their activity in a later generation. It is true that some four hundred years intervened, and it might be thought that conditions of a later age were reflected back to Sargon's days. The tablet from Amarna, the application of this title 'King of the Battle' to the Egyptian overlord by another writer in the Amarna letters, and the fragment of a Hittite version,[1] are all of the fourteenth century, and consequently still farther removed from the time of the Cappadocian merchants than these were from Sargon.

The tradition of this north-western campaign no longer stands unsupported, but it is hard to decide whether the story gains in credibility from the remains of similar legends which have appeared more recently. The most relevant of these is found upon a tablet which has at least the warrant of an earlier, though still far from contemporary, date.[2] Its contents can be understood only in a small part, for not merely is it mutilated by damage, but even the more legible passages are of very obscure meaning. Yet a situation of some general similarity seems to be described; Sargon is setting out upon an expedition to the 'land of Uta-rapashtum',[3] after a dramatic colloquy with his officers in a strain of mutual exhortation. But suddenly, without transition, a city is found to be under attack and is in flames—it is utterly destroyed, and its district far about on all sides so laid waste that not even a bird could find a lodging there. This last detail recalls what is related in the chronicle and omens[4] about Sargon's victory over the city of Kazallu. But in that case there is nothing to indicate the direction of his march, for Kazallu, though still unlocated, is likely to have lain not very far from Agade and from Babylon itself.[5] In subsequent, but still less intelligible, passages of this same tablet are found (or can be restored) the names of other places conquered by Sargon, and the narrative ended with words encouraging his successors to emulate his achievements, in the same style as the lines which conclude his 'legend'.[6]

It is interesting to observe that very similar stories were current concerning Naram-Sin, the famous grandson of Sargon, whose relations with the north-west will be related in their place

[1] §1, 20, zweiter Teil, 45 ff.; cf. A, 20.

[2] §1, 31.

[3] The enemy's name is not free from doubt, but if correct it may show a connexion with 'Nur-daggal' in the *King of the Battle*. To obtain even this tenuous relation of half a name it has to be assumed that *-daggal* is the same as the Sumerian *dagal*, which is *rapšu* in Akkadian. See A, 25, 7, no. 8.

[4] G, 20, vol. 1, 41 f.

[5] §IV, 11, 60 ff.; A, 27.

[6] G, 33, 119.

below. For the present purpose, the most significant feature in these is the recurrence of Purushkhanda(r) in a later text[1] which purports to tell, with many mythical accompaniments, how the empire of Naram-Sin was invaded by a demoniac horde which made that town the first conquest, as though it had been the most distant bound of the Akkadian possessions. Recently too there has come to light a fragment[2] concerning an expedition of Naram-Sin which appears to have borne a curious likeness in matter and phraseology to the *King of the Battle*, for a speaker is found urging, on behalf of himself and others, that the hero should undertake a long march through mountains and deserts. This he does, under favourable signs, and is at length met by a messenger who craves mercy for the land of Apishal. Now this campaign against Apishal is well attested as one of the triumphs of Naram-Sin, and the narration of it in a style so clearly similar to the *King of the Battle* may well suggest that Sargon's exploit was no less authentic, both stories applying the same romantic colour to facts which might seem exciting enough in themselves.

A possible foray into a west still farther than Asia Minor is doubtfully attested by another document[3] of the later Assyrian period, which is of still more uncertain authority. This is a compilation of geographical names, coupled with many figures of distances between localities, or distances of these from an unspecified centre, and in each section appears the name of Sargon as a conqueror. It is hardly possible to doubt that by this name is intended the ancient king of Agade, and that the whole document, in spite of the obscurity of its purpose (for most of it is illegible), must be regarded as at least involving a statistical survey of Sargon's empire, as that was believed by later tradition to have been constituted. This list has more importance for its bearing upon Sargon's conquests in the north and east than in the direction of Syria and farther west. But in a general view of Sargon's kingdoms at the end it names as 'lands beyond the Upper Sea' (i.e. the Mediterranean) two places called Anaku and Kaptara. The former may be interpreted as the 'Tin (Country)', the latter is doubtless the same as Kaphtor of the Old Testament, both indicating Crete, as now usually accepted. Of Kaptara or Kapturu there is definite information in the letters discovered at

[1] §III, 3.

[2] §III, 4, 46 ff. Perhaps in the same tradition is the poetical account of a conversation between Shalmaneser III and his officers at the outset of a campaign: see W. G. Lambert in *A.St.* 11 (1961), 143 ff.

[3] §1, 48.

Mari,[1] which had some trade in the products of that distant island. Sargon is said, in the omens, to have crossed the sea in the west; that he sailed farther than any subsequent Mesopotamian ruler has at least thus much testimony.

The 'Tin (Country)' is altogether incapable of giving any firm indication; the name, strangely written, perhaps does not represent a country at all, and even granted this it has not been settled whether the metal usually written as the Sumerian *an–na*, *nagga* was tin or lead—the evidence is now positively claimed to indicate tin.[2] If tin, the ancient sources of this are very far from clear, the Caucasus region being perhaps the most likely, with some possibility of Spain, but in either case the metal must have come in to Babylonia by long-distance trade, and from no definable place to which Sargon can be pictured as directing his arms. If lead, its origins are not very much clearer. Suggestions have ranged as far as the south of Spain,[3] but there are nearer possibilities not so hard to imagine. One is the famous lead-mine of Laurium,[4] source of the wealth of Athens in a later age, but after all the most likely location would be in the south-east of Asia Minor, and to include this among the 'lands beyond the sea' need mean no more than that the approach was across the Gulf of Issus. The Anatolian peninsula is and always has been famous for great deposits of galena, and a recent authority[5] has drawn up a list of no less than twenty-six, among which those of Bulgar Maden, of Ak Dağ, and of Ala Dağ might all come in question as attainable by Sargon. If any of these gave its name to the 'Tin (or Lead) Country', an expedition thither might coincide with the subject of the *King of the Battle*: an adventure designed to secure the double profit of a soldier-of-fortune's fee from the relieved merchants, and a load of precious metal to take home from the distant land.

In the remains of Sargon's own inscriptions there is no detail, nor indeed mention, of his conquests in the north. But the chronicle and omens[6] relate a successful war with Subartu; the aggression came from one or the other (the reports differ) and in the event Sargon 'defeated them, cast them in heaps, and overthrew their widespread host', carrying off their possessions to his city of Agade. The land of Subartu was also included in the

[1] §1, 7, 111 ff. For the voyage from the north Syrian coast to Crete see J. Nougayrol in *C.-R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L.*, 1960, 166.

[2] §1, 23; §1, 26, 50 ff.; §1, 45; A, 29. [3] §111, 2, 240. [4] §1, 2, 237.

[5] G, 12, 190 ff.

[6] G, 20, vol. 11, 7; G, 35, 70 ff.; G, 15, 34 ff.

catalogue of Sargon's provinces supplied by the geographical list already noticed. Near the beginning the limits of this land were defined: 'from . . . to Anzanzan (is) Subartu', and in a later section the 'space' of Subartu is given as 120 *bērū*, that measure being the distance covered on a march of two hours, which has been reckoned in modern equivalent as nearly seven miles.[1] It is, however, very uncertain what is meant by the 'space' of the countries here defined,[2] and since the north-western limit of Subartu is lost from the list, the south-east being perhaps Anzan (Anshan), a country which certainly lay in the nearer vicinity of Susa,[3] it is not easy to decide what territory was included in this conquest of Sargon. It was at least one of the most extensive, its 120 *bērū* being exceeded only by Akkad with 180, and its people being already described as 'widespread'. But if Subartu were taken as extending to Syria the dimension for it must in any case greatly exceed that of Akkad. Despite this difficulty it is impossible to ignore the phrase of Naram-Sin, 'ruler of Subartum up to the cedar-forest', or to evade its implication unless an improbable land of cedars was to be found somewhere in the hills east of the Tigris.[4] But in fact Sargon's own inscription leaves no room for doubt; it was by Hīt and the Euphrates that he made his way to the 'cedar-forest', and it was this region which Naram-Sin boasted of ruling over as Subartum.

The most notable part of this conquest was the district which later was known as Assyria. There is now a variety of evidence that its great cities, Nineveh and Ashur, were in the dominion of Sargon's successors, and their conquest may reasonably be ascribed to himself. At Nineveh was found an inscription of the early Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I which records the former building of a temple there by Manishtusu, who left at Ashur an inscription of his own, as Naram-Sin left one at Nineveh.[5] The city of Ashur is named upon the tablets of Akkadian date excavated at the place then called Gasur,[6] and later Nuzi, not far from the modern Kirkuk, and there is known to have been a large proportion of Akkadian names among the inhabitants of Ashur at this time.[7] Some of the stone figures found in the lowest levels of the Ishtar temple there belong, not to the Early

[1] §1, 41, 133. [2] §1, 48, 20, regards it as distance by roads. See A, 34, 16.
[3] For its location see below p. 438, n. 4.
[4] Evidence for this, however, is not altogether wanting; see G, 15, 36 n. 34; §1, 22, 83.
[5] References to all of these in G, 15, 36 n. 100.
[6] G, 40, 148 n. 7. [7] §1, 10, 714; §1, 32, 259 f.

Dynastic period, but to the Dynasty of Agade or even later. If in the former time they were the products of Sumerian cultural influence rather than of conquest from the south, in the latter they are more probably the memorials of a ruling class established by the kings of Agade. Finally there is an impressive bronze head discovered at Nineveh which by its style and mastery alike seems to claim a place in this age of high achievement,[1] and if rightly so dated may represent one of the Sargonic kings.

The next sector, in a geographical sense, of the conquests of Sargon was in the hill country to the east and north-east of Babylonia, and upon these campaigns we are best informed, both by his own inscriptions, and by other evidence, partly contemporary, but mostly of later date. To begin with the first: a general expression in the copied inscriptions of Sargon claims that 'the man of Mari and of Elam stood before Sargon', but this is made more explicit in other passages, containing lists of the rulers and places from which the conqueror took tribute.[2] The districts were Elam, B(W)arakhshe, Awan, and some places of lesser note, and the principal characters were Sanam-simut, called *ensi* of Elam, and Lukh-ishshan, called son of Khishep-rashir, king of Elam. Here for the first time occurs a contact with the native records of Elam, for a king named Khishep-ratep was the ninth member of a dynasty ruling in the district of Awan, and this name was, according to the native king-list,[3] borne by the son of Lukh-ishshan.[4] Over all these lands and rulers Sargon's triumph was complete, and his inscriptions close with the tribute or plunder of Awan itself and of Susa, where the sole surviving monument of the great king has been discovered.[5] A passing allusion to the eastern campaigns is made by a date-formula[6] which commemorates the 'year (when) Sharrumkin went to Simurum', probably the neighbourhood of the present Altın-Köprü, on the Lower Zab, between Kirkuk and Irbil.[7] This slight information obtained from contemporary records is but little augmented by later tradition. Three omens[8] survived to mark Sargon's victorious advance into Elam, to Barakhshe or Markhashe, in the course of which he perhaps encountered a great storm, for

[1] §1, 28; G, 31, figs. 206, 208.

[2] A, 25, 47, 51 f.; G, 3, 114 ff. See also below, pp. 647 f.

[3] §1, 36, 1 ff.; *Mém. D.P.* 23, iv.

[4] G, 6, 27 ff. Probably both the father and the son of Lukh-ishshan had the name Khishep-ratep, but see §1, 36, 4. On the variation in the name Khishep-ratep (-rashir) see G, 6, 28 n. 22.

[5] See Plate 52(*a*).

[6] §1, 33, no. 151; G, 30, 5, no. 10.

[7] §1, 19, 120 and 123.

[8] A, 25, 8; §1, 30, nos. 47, 54, 71.

one omen tells how the goddess Ishtar delivered him safely out of the darkness, and another states baldly that 'having marched to the land of Elam he slew the Elamites' and brought a calamity upon them. In its turn, the 'geographical survey' already described above[1] includes in Sargon's dominions the lands of Arrapkha, Lullubi, Armanum, Gutium, Parashi, Tukrish, Anshan, and Elam, which, taken as a whole, might be regarded as comprising almost the entire mountainous region in south-western Persia.

Sargon's conquests, whatever the order in which they were made, had now come full circle with his triumph over the princes of Elam. One result of them was naturally a great inflow of wealth, and there are preserved from a later age parts of a long poetical composition[2] which celebrated the rise and the fall of Agade, particularly under Naram-Sin. At its beginning this poem refers to the days of Sargon—his defeat of Kish and Uruk, and his choice by the supreme god Enlil, who granted him 'the priesthood and the kingdom from the lower to the upper (land)'. At this time Inanna made Agade into her residence and dwelt in the temple there, giving prosperity to her citizens; their food and drink were of the finest, their festivals were continual and splendid, they were enriched and diverted by an influx of useful or exotic animals, their treasuries were full, the people danced to music in the streets, and unceasingly ships were bringing to the quays the products of distant lands.

But a reversal of all this glory had not, it seems, to await the days of Naram-Sin, for there is a strong tradition that the reign of Sargon himself was clouded at the end by difficulties both external and internal. This account is preserved only in the late chronicle and omens,[3] but is not likely to be merely a lesson upon the instability of fortune. Accordingly, in his old age (such is the more probable version) 'all the lands revolted against him', and so serious was his peril that 'they beset him in Agade'. But the old warrior was still himself, for 'Sargon went forth to battle, defeated them, cast them in heaps, and overthrew their widespread host': the omens add a picturesque conclusion, 'their chattels he bound upon them and cried "(they are) thine, O Ishtar"'—thus dedicating his spoils of war. Other lines in the chronicles and omens refer obscurely to a sacrilege which he was deemed to have committed in the building of his new city of Agade;[4] it was too near, or too like, the holy city of Babylon, and attracted the wrath

[1] §1, 48, 4 ff.
[2] G, 22, 268 ff.; A, 14, 64 ff.
[3] G, 20, vol. 1, 6, 34 f.; §1, 30, no. 68; G, 38.
[4] G, 20, vol. II, 8 f.

of the god Marduk, who caused his subjects to rebel against him 'from the rising to the setting of the sun, and gave him no rest'. What was actually the state of Sargon's empire at his death may be partly inferred from the action which was forced upon his son after his accession.

II. THE SUCCESSORS OF SARGON

The next two kings of Agade and successors to the empire of Sargon were his two sons, Rimush and Manishtusu, who reigned, according to the king-list, in reverse order of age, for that authority assigns nine years to Rimush, and afterwards fifteen to Manishtusu, who is said to have been the elder brother of his predecessor; but it must be added that there are variants of the lengths of reigns.[1] Both kings seem to have begun with campaigns against rebels, involving expeditions into the lands east of the Tigris and into Elam, but it is Manishtusu who, in one of his monuments,[2] refers to 'all the lands...which my father Sargon left' as having 'in enmity revolted against me', thus implying that he was in fact the immediate successor of Sargon, as might be expected from his primogeniture. There seems no evidence at present capable of settling this, and therefore the order of the king-list may provisionally be kept.

Rimush, in any case, was clearly faced upon his succession with a general revolt. The chronology of his military measures is as little ascertainable as those of his father, but in one place[3] he tells how in the third year after the god Enlil had given him the kingdom he carried out a victorious invasion of Elam, and relates the numbers of prisoners and slain. His first years were doubtless occupied with the other campaign described in his inscriptions, one that would necessarily precede the re-subjugation of the more distant provinces in the east. The south country of Babylonia proper, the ancient 'land' and the great Sumerian cities, had taken the opportunity of Sargon's death to throw off the domination of the interlopers who, however much they had come to resemble and to imitate culturally the Sumerians, must have been regarded by these with some of the same feelings as they afterwards were to cherish against the Gutians or the Amorites—indeed, the Akkadians were in this as in other respects forerunners of the Amorites.[4] It has been observed that we find no trace of hostility

[1] G, 18, 111 f.
[2] §11, 7; A, 25, 14, no. 2.
[3] G, 3, 122ff.
[4] §11, 3, 29 f.

in the records between Sumerians and Semites: thus stated it is true, for there was no ethnic distinction involving these terms,[1] but the opposition comes out clearly in the campaign of Rimush which may have taken place in his first year. He states explicitly that his opponents were 'the cities of Sumer', and that he treated them with exemplary severity, for after their defeat he brought forth 5700 of their soldiers and (apparently) put them into prisons. The leader of this revolt was the king of Ur; he is called 'king' by his conqueror, and evidently occupied, by some sort of general recognition, the sovereignty over the 'land' which was the distinction recorded in the king-list. This is, in fact, duly recorded by that authority, for it is possible to insert the name of this Kaku as last of the Second Dynasty of Ur, otherwise broken out of the documents as we have them. Herewith is obtained (if the restoration be correct) synchronism between rulers named in the king-list, and also one more example of the characteristic weakness of that compilation, for in it the dynasties of Ur II and Agade are divided by no less than six other dynasties and twenty-two kings. Kaku, the leader of the Sumerian revolt, was captured together with his city, which was rendered defenceless by having its wall dismantled. The calamity which fell upon Ur at this moment is perhaps reflected, however obscurely, in the lament[2] ascribed to Enkheduanna, the first holder (known to history) of the celebrated office of high-priestess to the Moon-god in that city, which became traditionally the prerogative of sisters and daughters of the reigning monarch, and so continued until the very last years of Babylonian record. Enkheduanna has left a monument of her own, and her name upon some cylinder-seals belonging to her servants.[3] The lamentation represents her as the victim of a disaster which had afflicted Ur—the Moon-god, being angry, had ceased his care for his people, and had suffered his priestess to be driven into exile, powerless, as it seems, to appease the wrath of her own brother against the rebellious city.[4] But there was more than one centre of the revolt, for Rimush gathered his prisoners from other 'cities of Sumer', and the inscriptions reveal the names of those who, as good subjects of the national 'king' and as patriots, took part in the battle against the alien dynast. Two of these were the neighbours Lagash and Umma, ancient rivals but always likely to be under the same control as they were under the same necessities. On this occasion they were led by

[1] §11, 5; G, 38. [2] §11, 2; A, 25, 9, n. 76; A, 33, 127. [3] §11, 20, 49 f.
[4] Yet despite this presumed severity Rimush made a number of dedications in temples of the city; §11, 20, 51. See A, 26, 12 f.

their respective *ensi;* the name of Umma's chief is missing, that of Lagash is written with characters of uncertain reading. The ruler of Umma was probably the superior of these two, for he is described as accompanied by his 'forerunner', while other local chiefs have their 'messenger' or vizier. Notable allies, destined alike to be trophies of the victorious Akkadian, were Meskigala,[1] *ensi* of Adab, and Lugalushumgal, *ensi* of Zabalam.[2] From all of these places the inscriptions of Rimush reckon long tales of slain and prisoners.

Being as a result of this campaign secure in his rear, the king was now able to address himself to reconquest of the east. His inscriptions do not distinguish clearly between wars in Sumer and in Elam, but they have at least a tendency to relate the events in the two regions apart, and it may be assumed that the operations were spread over two campaigns in different directions.[3] The preliminaries of the Elamite campaign were prepared at the end of his subdual of the Sumerian cities, for in one place he states distinctly that, after his victory over Kaku and the southern allies, 'on his return' he smote Kazallu, took prisoner its *ensi* Asharid, and inflicted upon the rebel city an enormous loss of slain and captives. Elsewhere in the inscriptions Dēr is associated with Umma in a common disaster, and it is not likely that Umma was able to face Rimush again in a second year.

Whenever it was, the expedition against Elam, which is described in a group of texts copied at Nippur, was to prove the greatest triumph of Sargon's successor. Though Elam is named generally, the scene of his principal victory was the district of Barakhshe, where his father before him had fought one of his most glorious wars. According to the inscriptions of Rimush the armies of Elam and of a land called Zakhara had united against him. Their leader was Abalgamash, king of Barakhshe, who had with him Sidgau, called 'governor' of Barakhshe. In command of the host of Zakhara was the 'governor' of that land. Sidgau, at least, was an old opponent of Sargon, and his restoration was doubtless an act of defiance. The battle took place 'between Awan and Susa', apparently upon a river named in an obscure phrase[4] which seems to tell of 'pouring' it over them(?). However

[1] He was already ruling in the reign of Lugalzaggisi; see *C.A.H.* I[3], ch. VI, sect. II.

[2] Now said to be located at Ibzeikh; see plan in *Sumer* II, 127 ff.; §II, 6, 177.

[3] They occupied his reign up to the third year, when he summarized the slain and prisoners, G, 3, 124 f.; A, 25, 63.

[4] §II, 15, 40; A, 15, 67; R. Borger, *J.C.S.* 18 (1964), 54 f.; E. Sollberger, *R.A.* 63 (1969), 40, n. 1.

achieved, the victory was complete, and the king counted over 16,000 defeated, perhaps slain, and over 4000 prisoners, as well as a great weight of gold and copper some of which he dedicated to the god Enlil in Nippur. The result of this victory was not only the complete recovery of Barakhshe from the control of the Elamites but the destruction of some Elamite cities and the establishment of at least a tributary sovereignty over Elam itself: 'Rimush, king of Kish, was lord over Elam.' The king ends with a strong affirmation that his kingdom was now unchallenged, Enlil had revealed (?) it, and 'by the gods Shamash and Aba[1] I swear it; no lies, but truly!'

Rimush was now equal to his father and declares that 'he held for Enlil the upper and the lower sea and the mountains, all of them'. His boast has been substantiated by the widespread finding of trophies dedicated by him throughout his empire, especially fragments of alabaster vases inscribed with his triumph over Elam and Barakhshe, being themselves part of the countless spoils brought back from there. In the extreme north of Mesopotamia one of these fragments has been found at the great but still unnamed site of Tell Brak,[2] and even so far, to the headwaters of the Khabur, did the sway of Rimush extend. Concerning the remainder of his rule, nine years in all, there is no information; presumably he enjoyed his power and revenues peacefully. But his reign and life were ended by a palace conspiracy, in which he was assassinated by certain of his courtiers 'with their seals', or 'sealed tablets', as certain omens relate,[3] whatever weapons are indicated by this. Another omen[4] announces the 'presage of Agade, of Rimush and Manishtusu': what happened upon this occasion is not recorded, but it might possibly be taken to mean that Manishtusu had some hand in the murder of his brother, whom, innocent or guilty, he succeeded.

His first years may have been peaceful, for there is a stone figure of the king,[5] found at Susa, upon which Eshpum the *ensi* of that city inscribed a dedication to a local goddess for the benefit of his master. But, later or sooner, the revolt was renewed and the battles of Sargon, perhaps of his successor, had to be fought again. Yet Manishtusu, when he writes that 'all the lands... which my father Sargon left had in enmity revolted against me

[1] For this god, written A.MAL, see E. Porada in *Iraq*, 22, 119 f.
[2] §11, 12, 27.
[3] §1, 30, 13, no. 42; §1, 17, 256; A, 25, 13, B. 2.
[4] §1, 30, 23, no. 87.
[5] G, 17, 198; see below, p. 650.

and not one stood fast', seems to ignore the reign of his brother, if in fact this had preceded.

His tasks against the rebels were those which had confronted his forbears; he had to subdue both south and east. In one place occurs an interesting detail about this operation—he divided his army into two parts,[1] but he does not relate what these two divisions had as objectives. One of them, at least, met the forces of two different but allied, and presumably adjacent, lands Anshan and Sherikhum, which were defeated and their king (for both seem to have been under one ruler) carried off in triumph and led into the temple of the Sun-god in Sippar, accompanied with rich gifts for the god out of the booty captured. The other division was perhaps the force which waged a war 'on the other side of the sea' against thirty-two kings of cities who had assembled for battle.[2] These were defeated, their cities subdued, their leaders slain, and their country occupied 'up to the silver-mine'. Manishtusu took the opportunity of shipping stone from this region to the quays of Agade, and made a statue of himself to stand before the god Enlil at Nippur. He also transported timber for his temple-building at Sippar.

The scanty accounts of this campaign (no more than a few phrases divided between two inscriptions)[3] afford only a momentary and baffling glimpse, but it is of a wider world. Anshan, a name celebrated until the last days of Babylonian history, was one of the foremost Elamite provinces, generally coupled with Susa, of which it takes precedence in the titles of Elamite kings. Despite this frequent appearance in many different ages and contexts there is very poor evidence of its geographical position, and modern authorities have been in doubt[4] whether to place it north or south of Susa. Its sister-realm of Sherikhum is, on the contrary, mentioned only once by Sargon and in this inscription, which does no more than indicate a likelihood of its being a

[1] §11, 7. The inscription upon the curious object called the 'cruciform monument' is shown by internal evidence not to be contemporary with the kings of Agade, but its slight reference to history can be accepted for a detail which there was no need to invent; see G, 17, 8, and references there; E. Sollberger, *J.E.O.L.* 20 (1968), 50 ff.

[2] G, 3, 130 f. and 136 f.

[3] For the original inscriptions of Manisthtusu, and the 'cruciform monument' see A, 25, 14 f. and 69; and above, n. 1.

[4] Recent discussions in G, 32, 234; G, 6, 31; §11, 8; §11, 9, 21; §1, 19, 117; see also below, ch. xxiii. In view of the south-eastern direction of Manishtusu's march it might be well to reconsider a proposal (quoted in §11, 8, 111 f.) to find the name of Anshan preserved in 'Ashshan, stated to be the Arabic name of Rāmhurmuz ('three days' march east of Ahwāz', G, 26, 243).

coastal region beyond Anshan. This maritime location is supported by a remarkable variant[1] to the text of the 'cruciform monument'; instead of 'Anshan and Sherikhum' (with the simple determinative of 'place') the variant substitutes 'Anshan and the city of Meluhha'. The last name has long provided one of the enigmas of ancient geography,[2] for, very briefly, later texts undoubtedly apply it to the distant African lands of Nubia or Ethiopia, whereas in earlier contexts (and some later as well) it is almost as clearly applied to a country not only less remote, but lying in the east rather than the west. The normal route to Meluhha was by sea, and there are many references, beginning from the Agade period onwards, to sea-borne imports of timber, gold, semi-precious stones, and ivory from Meluhha. Moreover, its name was regularly associated with that of Magan, a land which can now with some confidence be located on the shores of the Gulf of Oman,[3] and may even correspond in part with the medieval and modern Makrān. Since Meluhha is always implied to be more distant than Magan, its appearance in place of Sherikhum, while furnishing yet another argument in favour of the 'eastern' Meluhha, is surprising in its suggestion of nearness, for Sherikhum, whatever its true location, was not beyond the reach of a military expedition from southern Iraq, whereas Meluhha has been thought, with some plausibility, to have at least included the flourishing upstream cities of the Indus, now famous but unknown until their recent discovery, with perhaps also undiscovered ports at the delta of the great river.[4] There is unassailable material evidence of relations between the two civilizations of Mesopotamia and of Sind, in the forms both of natural products and of artefacts, and it was in the Agade period that such relations seem to have been at their height. Yet it is difficult to imagine how an army of Manishtusu can have penetrated to any country even within the radius of Mohenjo Daro, or how any such extent of territory can

[1] E. Sollberger in *J.E.O.L.* 20, 55 and 63.

[2] A summary of the ample but strangely inconclusive evidence concerning Meluhha is given in §1, 48, 6 ff.; recent (and diverging) opinions have been expressed in §11, 13, 16 and §11, 6, 184; A, 30.

[3] This rests upon the convincing identification of the celebrated '*mes*-wood of Magan' with the *Dalbergia sissoo* Roxb., and the native habitat of that tree (§11, 4); for the possible identity of the name with Makrān see W. Eilers in §11, 11, 29.

[4] But against this see §11, 14, 143 f. Concerning naval sites and activities of the Harappā people see §11, 1, especially the references to Lothal on p. 92. See also A, 7. What might be meant by the 'city' of Meluhha is beyond allowable conjecture. It is curious that Gudea (Statue B, vi, 64) applies the same style of 'city' to Anshan, the other member of this pair.

have been in the hand of a single ruler, 'king of Anshan and Sherikhum (or, Meluhha)', as the inscriptions variously call him. A further difficulty would be raised if the following passage in the text went on to relate that the king crossed the Lower Sea in ships to deal with the other body of his enemies. But although there is unmistakable reference to ships and to the thirty-two hostile kings assembled 'on the other side of the sea', the actual phrase[1] supposed to describe the crossing is of doubtful meaning, and it is hardly necessary to imagine an invasion of the desert coast of Arabia.[2]

III. THE REIGN OF NARAM-SIN

Manishtusu, according to an omen, was murdered in a palace conspiracy,[3] and was succeeded by his son, Naram-Sin, destined to become the second of a pair whom later history ever regarded as the greatest figures in its annals. Because of this likeness Naram-Sin was known afterwards as the son of Sargon; if the word is pressed it is incorrect for the king-list rightly calls him son of Manishtusu. His reign was long and, until its closing years, glorious. But our information upon it is of varying authenticity, depending for the greatest part upon much later tradition. Of his own inscriptions, which were certainly many and informative, and of the sculptures which illustrated his campaigns and triumphs, very little has survived. By chance he has fared scantily even in the copies of these monuments at Nippur which are comparatively informative about the wars of his grandfather.

Both the original inscriptions of Naram-Sin and their copies are marked by two significant changes in the royal styles; first, he used himself, and permitted to be used in the addresses of his subjects, the divine determinative before his name. This is not invariable in his own titulary, and may have been assumed later in his reign, but the language of obsequious servants who dedicated their seals to him was unrestrained in the attribution of divinity, for they often address him not only as divine in his nature but do not hesitate to call him 'the god of Agade'.[4] He

[1] In all the current dictionaries this is *locus conclamatus*; G, 5, vol. IV, 13; G, 36, 182*b*; G, 16, 14.

[2] Yet there is a recent report of the so-called 'Kulli culture' found on the western side of the Oman Peninsula (*Archaeology*, 13 (1960), 280). The 'silver-mine' which marked the limit of Manishtusu's advance is rather more likely to have lain upon the Persian than upon the Arabian side; see §I, 13, 499 and 501.

[3] §I, 17, 257.

[4] §III, 5, 59; A, 25, 23.

was perhaps the first to bear this title, which marks a monstrous usurpation according to the ideas of the older Sumerian rulers who took pride in being simply the city-god's executant. It is not impossible that some of the stories of downfall and disaster which later tradition attached to his memory were motivated in part by the belief that such presumption could not go unpunished by the offended gods. At least, he had not many imitators in later history. A second vain-glorious, but less blasphemous, title[1] was one which again appears for the first time with Naram-Sin, 'king of the four regions', a claim to universal dominion over the earth which was revived by Shulgi and his successors at Ur, when they also seemed for a time to enjoy a boundless empire.

It is not possible to write a consecutive nor even a factual account of Naram-Sin's reign. There is no chronology[2] for its thirty-seven years,[3] and no criterion for the truth of what is related, since nearly all of this is in the form of later compilations and legends, from which emerges nothing but a blurred picture of triumph and disaster; only from the course of subsequent events is it permissible to believe that disaster predominated in the end. Like his predecessors Naram-Sin probably began his reign amid a revolt of his subjects. Several of the ancient cities were prominent in this uprising, and one account[4] ascribes its leadership to Kish, which is bitterly reproached as thankless and mansworn to the house of Sargon. In this text more than twenty conspirators are named, in another[5] there are seventeen, whose realms extended from Anatolia in the extreme north-west to Magan, on the shores of the Persian Gulf, in the south-east. The issue of this vast struggle is hardly indicated by a dubious line as victory for Naram-Sin, although this may be assumed. If so, success was surely not achieved in one year or in one campaign—the extent of the rebellious lands over the whole stretch of ancient western Asia guarantees that the king had to wage a series of hard and distant wars, which doubtless exhausted his resources and left his successors enfeebled. Mari might be the first stage of his march to the west, and the second was achieved by the conquest of Armanum and Ibla, claimed in a copy of his own inscription.[6] The former of these, perhaps both, were ruled by Rish-Adad, who

[1] §III, 5, 49 ff.; A, 36.

[2] Several year-dates survive but give little information; listed in G, 17, 201, add *J.C.S.* 15 (1961), 80, n. 236. See A, 25, 22.

[3] G, 18, 112.

[4] Last translated in §II, 15, 23 f.

[5] A Hittite fragment, see §1, 20, zweiter Teil, 68 ff. Original inscriptions (G, 3, 138 f. and 142 f.; A, 25, 17 f.) claim victory in nine battles and the capture of three kings in one year.

[6] G, 14, no. 275; A, 25, 74.

was captured alive by the victor, and was represented in captivity by a sculpture dedicated to the Moon-god. Ibla had been formerly occupied by Sargon, though his grandson claims first capture of it, and the 'cedar mountain' which Sargon also possessed is defined by Naram-Sin as the Amanus. All of the places named in this inscription lay between the great bend of the Euphrates and the north Syrian coast; Armanum was probably Aleppo[1] and Ulisum a place upon the sea-shore not far from Tyre.[2] Other celebrated incidents marked the same campaign in Syria, which earned for the victor his title as 'lord of Tidnum'. Nothing is known of the other western and even Anatolian 'kings' who appear in one list of the seventeen rebels. But a siege and capture of Apishal was famous in tradition, being remembered especially by the soothsayers for its ominous accompaniments; Naram-Sin marched thither, battered breaches in its walls and took prisoner its 'king' Rish-Adad,[3] whose name cannot but recall Rish-Adad, the ruler of Armanum, though there is no likelihood that he was the same. Where Apishal lay is uncertain[4] but it must have been secluded, for the approach to it was described by a legend[5] in terms of difficulty which (as already noticed) recall the obstacles and fatigues of Sargon's expedition to Purushkhanda. Even that extreme limit was probably reached by Naram-Sin also. The copied inscription concerning his western wars contains a mention of Talkhatum,[6] a place (it says) which no king before him had ever reached, but Naram-Sin went there, and the goddess Inanna gave him no rival, and the city-governors of Subartum and the lords of the highlands supplied him with provisions. This town of Talkhatum is known again in a later age as a place where the business of the Cappadocian merchants passed sometimes, as it did also to Purushkhanda, and the two were certainly on the same route. In seeming agreement with this, one of the later stories[7] about Naram-Sin begins the invasion of his empire with demoniac hordes destroying the town of Purushkhanda(r), as though it was the utmost bound of his dominion. It will hardly be too much, therefore, to believe that

[1] See above, p. 426, n. 4.

[2] The name being perhaps the same as Ullaza; see §III, 12, 26 f. Another possibility is the better-known Urs(h)u on the upper Euphrates; see above, p. 426, n. 5.

[3] G, 20, vol. II, 8 ff. and 36 ff; §I, 30, nos. 5, 76, 90.

[4] Doubtless in north Syria, see §III, 15, 106 f.

[5] §III, 4, 46 ff.

[6] §I, 11, 29; §III, 10, 370; A, 17, 95, n. 11.

[7] §III, 3, 100 f.

Naram-Sin exercised some authority, however incomplete, over districts in the south-east of Asia Minor, where his grandfather before him had accomplished the same phenomenal march which Naram-Sin or his flatterers heralded as a pioneer effort.

Towards the north there is material proof of the extent of his dominion. Farthest of all is the site now called Tell Brak, of which the ancient name is still unknown. Here has been found, upon a most imposing mound, the seat of a flourishing population and cult in ages long before the Dynasty of Agade, and the ruin of a great palace[1] built by Naram-Sin with bricks bearing his name. Such a building testifies to the order which was established in a remote district under this king's reign, for therein were collected and stored the tributes of the surrounding country, at that time fertile and prosperous. Not far away to the east has been found a stele[2] with a figure of the king and an obliterated inscription, at a village near the town of Diyārbakr. Of his presence and supremacy in the cites of Assyria there is direct and inferential evidence, which has been noticed before.[3]

Whereas it may be assumed that the supremacy of Naram-Sin in the west and north was maintained without serious contest[4] he had some hard struggles upon his eastern frontiers against the various hill peoples who enviously overlooked the Babylonian plain, and were at length to overthrow the kingdom which he left to his sons. The rock-relief[5] chiselled upon the steep side of a gorge called Darband-i Gawr in the district of Kara-Dağ south of Sulaimaniyyah is a monument reproducing *in situ* the famous scene upon the Naram-Sin stele[6] discovered at Susa which, according to its own inscription, pictures the triumph of Naram-Sin over Satuni the king of Lullubi.[7] This location, coupled with evidence from the topography of Assyrian campaigns against the Lullu, makes it appear that the centre of Lullubu was the valley of Shahrazūr; a similar conclusion may be drawn from the geographical list of Sargon's empire[8] which places Lullubi immediately after Arrapkha (Kirkuk). From this centre Lullu raiders sometimes marched out, and one of their penetrations

[1] §II, 12, 26 ff., 63 ff.; see above, p. 308. [2] §III, 11.

[3] See above, p. 431.

[4] For an indication of the ethnic elements among his opponents in that quarter see G, 38, 99 f.

[5] G, 35, 96 ff.; §III, 13, 8 and map; G, 11, 360 and map facing p. 440; A, 12, pl. XLV*b*; G, 35, 97.

[6] *Mém. D.P.* 1, pl. x; 2, pl. 11; often reproduced. See Plate 42(*a*).

[7] Variously written in cuneiform as Lullu, Lullubu, Lullumu; see §III, 9, 325; §III, 8, 15 and 19 n. 24; A, 28, 279. [8] §I, 48, 12.

reached the district of the modern Zuhab, near Sar-i Pul, for there has been found a well-known rock-relief with figures and the inscription of Annubanini,[1] king of Lullubi, who writes in Agadean style a description of his monument and a long imprecation against any violator. The danger from this enemy is vividly recalled in a later and confused tradition,[2] where he appears as father of a band of seven fearful ogres, with gruesome names invented to strike terror, who swept across the dominions of Naram-Sin leading a countless horde of monsters, laid waste Gutium and Elam, and were halted only at the shore of the Persian Gulf. Not far away from his monument is another rock-relief[3] with the name of Tar...dunni, doubtless another king of the Lullu.

The Gutians are not so easy to fix upon the map;[4] they were close neighbours, hardly to be distinguished from the Lullu, but no territorial monuments mark their abodes. Their descendants, called Qutu, can be found dubiously mentioned in the Mari letters,[5] but appear most prominently much later in the campaigns of Assyrian kings towards the end of the second millennium and subsequently. In those times they were a great and powerful, if loose-knit, people; their epithet was 'wide-spread' and their land seems to have been in the mountains south of the Lesser Zab,[6] to the north of Sulaimaniyyah and of the legendary Mount Niṣir, where the ark of the Babylonian Noah rested after the Deluge. The homes of these mountaineers, Guti as well as Lullu, are represented by parts of the territories occupied by the modern Kurds and Lurs, who have perhaps preserved the ancient names with some of the same turbulence.

It has been seen above (p. 432) that there was ruling over Elam in the days of Sargon a native dynasty seated in the city of Awan. The eighth and ninth members of this had been conquered by Sargon; no name of their successors appears among the coalition of rebels against Naram-Sin upon his succession, where the Elamite power is represented rather by the states of Markhashe[7] and Mardaman. Probably contemporary of Naram-Sin in this dynasty was the eleventh king named Khita, and it is most likely he who figures in a treaty written in the Elamite language and made with Naram-Sin.[8] In Susa, always the most amenable to

[1] §III, 6, Tafel II; §III, 7, 228; G, 39, 172; G, 3, 150.
[2] §III, 3, 100 f.; see above, p. 429.
[3] G, 6, 41; G, 39, 172.
[4] G, 6, 41 f.; §I, 19, 118; §III, 8, 14; A, 28, 279; A, 14, 46, n. 12; A, 35; A, 34, 16.
[5] §III, 1, 132; §I, 22, 95.
[6] §III, 2, 268; §III, 13, 19; §III, 8, 18.
[7] Or B(W)arakhshe.
[8] See, for details of this, below, p. 651 ; A, 24.

Babylonian influence, the ascendancy of Naram-Sin was almost complete. There he raised buildings constructed with his own inscribed bricks, set up his statues, and dedicated his trophies from Magan. In charge of this dependency he appointed a city-governor named Epir-mupi.[1] At this time so complete was the submergence of the native influences that even the documents of law and administration were written in the Akkadian, not the Elamite language; contracts, letters, lists, and even literary works are found in the all-conquering Akkadian. These tablets reveal that there was an active commerce carried on with Babylonia, for cities in the old land of Sumer, especially Shuruppak, Awal, and Umma are often named. This condition of affairs lasted as long as the office of Epir-mupi, who in later life was promoted to the status of governor-general over the whole of Elam. His successor was Puzur (Kutik)-In-Shushinak, whose reign is described in a subsequent chapter (xxiii).

To seal his mastery of the 'four regions' Naram-Sin celebrated a triumph in the south over Manium, king of Magan. This is attested by the unimpeachable consent of his own inscriptions, of later omens and chronicles, and of existing alabaster vases inscribed[2] with his name and the words 'booty of Magan'. These vases, combined with the names of Magan and Manium, have given a singular interest to this episode, for Magan was a name undoubtedly applied to Egypt in a later period of Babylonian history,[3] and the vases have a distinct likeness to Egyptian alabaster vases, which more commonly bear inscriptions in the late Fifth and in the Sixth Dynasties,[4] the dates of which accord well enough with that of Naram-Sin. It was natural, therefore, that the name of Manium, or Mannu,[5] should recall Menes, traditionally the first king of United Egypt.[6] But a synchronism is out of the question, for the beginning of the First Dynasty can by no means be reduced to the date of Naram-Sin, and the resemblance of the alabaster vases must be ascribed to no more than artistic influence and products emanating from Fifth Dynasty Egypt over trade routes to the east as they did to the north.[7] There is no sufficient reason to believe that Naram-Sin can have been a foreign invader who helped to end the Sixth Dynasty in Egypt and to bring in its First Intermediate Period.

[1] G, 16, 57 prefers this form of the name; §iii, 5, 66, but see now A, 5.
[2] G, 3, 138 f. [3] See above, p. 439. [4] See above, p. 156.
[5] §ii, 15, 42; A, 25, 17, n. 182. [6] §iii, 14.
[7] See above, p. 391. Even in Old Babylonian times there is no appearance of direct communications between Babylonian and Egypt; §ii, 11, 36 f.

IV. THE STATE OF BABYLONIA UNDER THE DYNASTY OF AGADE

From the reign of Naram-Sin, as from the culmination of a brilliant epoch, it will be convenient to look back over the changes as well as the constancies of life in Babylonia under the greatest of her kings, as we may agree with all tradition in thinking them to be. It is certain, at the outset, that they brought a division into the land not present, or at least not felt, before. The belief once held that early Babylonia was the scene of a long-drawn conflict between Sumerians and Semites was founded upon distinctions now known to be unconcerned with race or nationality.[1] Semitic-speaking elements had been present and influential in the land from the earliest times, and there is no evidence of conflict between the two language-groups. No inscription proclaims victory over the hated Semite or the despised Sumerian; such a language would in fact have been unintelligible. But it was another thing as touching the external neighbours of the land. If the line in an epic poem which ascribes to Lugalbanda a prayer against the 'Amorite who knows not grain'[2] is not a complete anachronism it shows one of the first dynasties of Sumer already at grips with the foe from the north-west. And even if the name be admitted as adapted to later conditions, as the name of Akkad in the same passage doubtless is, the underlying cause of hostility is the same, whether the western invaders are called Akkadians, Amorites, or Aramaeans—they were all needy strangers attracted by the wealth and refinement of the ancient cities of the south, and against these barbarians the contempt and hatred of the citizens was unvarying. Doubtless this movement had always been afoot, and the degree of ethnic (or at least linguistic) mixture prevailing in Sumer from the beginning had been introduced by former immigrants from the same quarter. But if so the amalgamation had been fully effected and the sons or grandsons of the newcomers were now accustomed to look up the Euphrates with the same apprehension as their older-established neighbours; the vigorous Sumerian culture had soon absorbed all alien influences into its own engrossing interests and characteristic mode of life. The founding of the dynasty of Agade thus marks not only the first historically visible domination of the land by western immigrants (unless the group of Semitic-named kings in the First Dynasty of

[1] See above, pp. 99 f.; §1, 39, 242, 260 f.

[2] S. N. Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer*, 235 f.; A, 6, 92.

Kish be a forerunner otherwise indistinguishable), but the setting up of a distinction which divided the country permanently, made an immediate and lasting impression upon its culture, and, for all its temporary brilliance, perhaps contributed to the decline which set in after its collapse, for the Early Dynastic and its successor the Akkadian periods were the true 'golden age' of Babylonia.

That there was a large influx of Syrian people about the time when Sargon made himself king is not to be doubted.[1] It cannot have been merely a slow infiltration of families bent upon making a living in a happier land, however much this may seem to be suggested by the story of the hero's own birth and employment. He was no ordinary *ensi* of a city, ready to engage his neighbour cities in a contest for supremacy. He built instead a new seat, and this housed his own warriors and their families, not a mixed multitude from Kish.[2] It became the centre of a northern division of the country which thenceforth was to be known as Sumer and Akkad. Such a development can have been effected only by a new population conscious of its difference and even of hostility to the old. This distinction springs at once into view (p. 435 above) with the first successor of Sargon who names his revolted opponents explicitly 'the cities of Sumer' and adds that he treated them with great severity. The ancient solidarity of the land, strong through all its internal broils, is thus rudely denounced. From the other side the indications are the more striking as they are recorded by the enemy. Sargon was the conqueror of Lugalzaggisi but not of him alone; others of the most powerful Sumerian cities were allies of Uruk in a cause which they evidently perceived to be more important than the time-honoured rivalry for the 'kingship' of Sumer. All were subdued and compelled to bear what they felt as a foreign yoke, to be cast away passionately whenever occasion offered. 'All the lands' which revolted against Sargon in his old age certainly included the Sumerian cities. Thenceforward a constant feature was to mark the accession of all the three who followed him upon the throne, a bitter revolt of Sumer, suppressed each time with hard fighting and cruelty. Under this it is impossible not to feel a burning zeal of patriotic sentiment, kindled as it was to be later against the vile Gutian oppressors. The kings of Agade in their flourishing days could never make themselves and their armies accepted as of the family.[3]

Indeed the outlook of these kings was altogether different from that of the old Sumerian dynasts. It is true that we are poorly

[1] §11, 3, 27 ff. Yet see A, 2.
[2] G, 17, 12.
[3] A, 14, 49.

informed about the exploits abroad of the older kings, but we may judge from the range of Eannatum's expeditions that even the most warlike of them did not travel much beyond the outer bounds of country covered by the Sumerian institutions and ideas, that is from Mari in the west to Elam in the east. Lugalzaggisi, the predecessor of Sargon, did march to the Mediterranean, if his phrase is so to be interpreted, and perhaps was the first to do so. But Sargon established the first 'world empire'; he must already have possessed great influence in Syria, and had little difficulty in subduing the whole of it. He crossed the Taurus, if legend may be believed, he held in sway the whole of north Mesopotamia and in check the mountainous borderlands to the north and east. Doubtless he controlled the shipping of the Persian Gulf, but it was reserved for his son Manishtusu to embark upon these waters with an army, and for his grandson Naram-Sin to extend his conquests to the country of Magan in the south, and thus logically to acquire the proud title 'king of the four regions', the uttermost parts of the earth. To so wide a view as this the affairs of Sumer seemed parochial, and to the self-centred Sumerians this neglect was intolerable. Centuries of change and experience were not enough to alter this resentment. The hatred with which the later Babylonians encountered Assyrian conquerors manifested their intolerance of becoming a mere province in an empire. Impatience was shown even when the 'world power' was held by one of their own kings, Nebuchadrezzar or Nabonidus, and they were still a rebellious people under the Persians.

The rule of the Akkadian kings need not be supposed especially oppressive, although there was evidently a good deal of displacement of population, landowners and workers, to accommodate Akkadian dependants of the king. This treatment is applied to the territories of four Babylonian cities, Dūr-Sin, Kish, Marad, and another[1] in the celebrated Obelisk[2] of Manishtusu. The extent of compensation paid by the king for the estates which he acquired was wide, including all those who had any claim upon the lands, and he undertook to provide maintenance for officials and workers displaced by his new arrangements. All the fields were bought upon the computation of a yield of $3\frac{1}{3}$ *gur* of grain for each *iku* of land,[3] the price was fixed at the rate of one shekel of silver for one *gur*

[1] Written ŠID.TAB.KI, of uncertain reading; §IV, 12, but also §IV, 11, 74; its location discussed in both.

[2] *Mém. D.P.* tome 1, pl. IX; tome 2, 1 ff., pls. 1 ff. See G, 21, 206 ff.; §IV, 2, 26 ff.; A, 25, 14, no. 3.

[3] G, 28, vol. 1, 355, 362.

of grain, with various presents distributed to interested parties, a whole multitude being thus concerned in the transactions.[1] These prices remained fairly stable through the succeeding period of the Third Dynasty of Ur,[2] but tended to rise thereafter, and by the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon the rate for grain had gone up by about forty per cent. The price paid by Manishtusu for his lands is fully equal to that found in other accounts of his day, and should be considered quite fair; his purchases may have been compulsory but were not confiscatory.

It is not clear from the inscription who were the recipients of the ground thus acquired, apart from the king himself who bought it. Each face of the obelisk records details of the estate purchased in each of the four townships, and concludes with a repeated list of the same forty-nine persons who are described as 'witnesses[3] of the field'—these are headed by a nephew of the king, are all 'sons of Agade', and include many officers of the state and temple administrations. It is perhaps right to assume (although it is nowhere stated) that these were the elect vavasours of the lands thus acquired, and that the obelisk is a monument to the process of dispossessing former owners in favour of the adherents or 'veterans' of a conqueror, a process which earned as much unpopularity for Sargon[4] and Manishtusu as for many later governments. Whatever the relations of the old and the new possessors, there is no mark of discrimination on ethnic lines, although the names of nearly all are either plainly Semitic or written (as all the Agade inscriptions) with a large admixture of 'ideograms' nearly always to be read in their Semitic values.[5] But the 'new men' include some surprising elements, if the obelisk is to be regarded as a monument of dispossession, for there are found among them two sons of an *ensi* of Umma and a certain Urukagina, son of Engilsa, *ensi* of Lagash, who could possibly, if not very probably, be the celebrated reformer of that name,[6] the victim of Lugalzaggisi. Such individuals as these cannot have been immigrants, and we must rather suppose that the new lessees were simply supporters of the king, rewarded without consideration of their antecedents. Nevertheless, that such operations were in some sense aimed against, or fell severely upon, the older-established population is sufficiently proclaimed by the fact

[1] *R.A.* 44, 101.
[2] §IV, 3, 11, 12; §IV, 8, 30.
[3] §IV, 7, 187.
[4] See above, p. 424.
[5] G, 17, 12.
[6] See above, pp. 140 ff; §1, 21, 137 n. 107; but otherwise G, 21, 209 f.

already noticed that every reign of the Agadean kings was ushered in by a stubborn revolt of the older cities.

Concerning the economy and conditions of life under the kings of Agade there is some information in the business and administrative documents, which have survived in fair numbers, and come from several places in north and south Babylonia, and from at least two others, Susa and Gasur, which are outside the homeland.[1] None of these provides evidence of the temple-estate economy characteristic of the old Sumerian cities, and it is probable that a change towards a more secular order of society and land-tenure had come in with the new Akkadian rulers, even if it be allowed that the temple-economy in the Sumerian cities was not so all-inclusive as most of the evidence suggests. The business tablets of the Agade period are mostly of a formal kind, lists and receipts, but legal documents are also present, depositions of witnesses, sales of fields, slaves, animals, and commodities, records of traffic, of lands and farmers, and of trade between cities. There exist also letters, characterized in this period by a peculiar exordium;[2] they deal principally with the administration of estates and the assignment of leases, having only very occasionally references to matters of wider interest.

Externally, the tablets of this period[3] are a remarkable exemplification of the profound change which came over all the arts together. The tablets of the Early Dynastic age are of a rounded contour with but slightly marked corners; their writing is not unclear, but not well spaced and arranged on the tablet, nor always well executed, and the general appearance is untidy. With the Agade period comes in a great change; the tablets mostly take on a rectangular form and the clay is finely prepared. The lines are strictly ordered and ruled, and above all the signs are written with a care and beauty which were not matched again until the Assyrian calligraphers were set to work upon the library tablets of Ashurbanipal; they tend to great elaboration, multiplying the number of wedges in serried groups, the whole presenting a highly characteristic appearance of formal arrangement, such that it is nearly always possible to recognize an Agade tablet at a single glance.

The language written in this beautiful script is that Semitic dialect which is called Old Akkadian. Its philological peculiarities have been acutely analysed elsewhere,[4] but here it may be observed as a historical fact of high importance that this was the first time

[1] G, 17, 7; §IV, 7, 174 ff.; G, 21, 236 ff.
[2] G, 16, 47; A, 38, 3; A, 32, 3.
[3] See Plate 41 (*b*), (*c*).
[4] Most recently in G, 17.

a Semitic language had ever been written. The instrument used was the cuneiform script invented or at least developed for the writing of the peculiar Sumerian language. From this first beginning, the cuneiform script displayed its virtuosity in rendering alien tongues, of which it had currently written half a dozen, entirely disparate, before its extinction, having become the common medium of written expression in the whole of western Asia, and being professionally studied and employed even in Egypt. The scribes of Agade made a skilful start with the use of this alien instrument. They gave the writing of Semitic in cuneiform the character it was to bear ever afterwards, that is, mixed usage of phonetic writing and 'ideograms' or sense-signs, the (Sumerian) sign for a thing or an idea being written, but read in its Semitic equivalent with complements where necessary to indicate that reading or to add Semitic affixes. In the inscriptions of Sargon a good deal of clumsiness appears in the excessive use of ideograms: in the longer inscriptions of Naram-Sin, after about a century of practice, there is a noticeable decrease in this stiffness of expression, and the writing is on its way to the full phonetic freedom of the classical period. But it is worth remarking that later ages found it convenient to revert largely to the earlier manner, and to admit for the sake of brevity or the abuse of mystification a varying admixture of ideograms.

The craftsmanship and the mastery of composition which are exemplified in the Akkadian tablets and writing have left as clear a mark upon other notable works of art produced at this period. Nothing is better illustrative of this than the cylinder-seals;[1] these either depict groups of figures, human and animal, in effective poses and strict arrangement, in which the inscription often enters as a focus, or else they venture (as no subsequent age ever ventured again) upon compressing into this minute space some comprehensively illustrated incident in a mythological story, involving several figures. That we cannot understand most of these incidents is due to our deficient knowledge of the stories, not to the manner of representing them, which is usually admirable in its statement and detail. It is composition, above all, which gives its quality to the famous Stele of Victory,[2] one of the best works of ancient art—the triangular effect of the monument itself is caught up in the cone at the mountain summit, and the two intersecting triangles adumbrated by the royal victor, his victim with the slope of his body and the crossing line of the fatal arrow, the whole

[1] See Plate 43(*a*); §IV, 4, pll. XVI ff.

[2] See above, p. 443, n.6.

completed on the right by the suppliant figure. All of these are in a landscape rendered with just enough features to set the scene without distracting the mind from the martial triumph.

Wide as were the conquests of the kings of Agade, and active as the civil pursuits and arts upon which they relied for their strength, it can hardly be said that the wealth of this period is so apparent as in the preceding age of the early Sumerian dynasties. It is difficult to make comparisons, especially when there is on the one side the splendour of the 'royal cemetery' at Ur, to which no comparable discovery has been made for the Agade period—it is necessary to be on guard against building overmuch upon accidents of discovery. But there are one or two absences from the resources of the Agade kings which argue a disability as compared with their predecessors. There seems to be a falling-off in the supply of lapis-lazuli,[1] which was all ultimately derived from the mines of Badakhshān on the upper Oxus, far to the east of the Caspian Sea. It still appears in jewellery under the Agade kings, but almost vanishes as a material for inlay and ornament and especially for cylinder-seals, so much favoured before. But this change may be due to other ideas or other fashions, the popular stones for seals (which were also amulets, obtaining some of their supposed magical effect from their material) varying in most of the successive Babylonian ages. Allowing for this, it is possible to believe that communication with Badakhshān became more difficult than before. A more surprising deficit, both because of its greater utility and because it is better attested, is that of tin or other media for alloying copper so as to make bronze. It has been shown by analysis of ancient implements found in well-observed strata that in the Agade period they are sometimes of lower alloy content, more nearly pure copper, than in the preceding Early Dynastic period.[2] If this indicates, as might be supposed, that the supply of tin was partially interrupted, it is not easy to account for this. At a rather later time tin seems to have come partly from the Caucasus by way of Ashur, and in this direction the power of Agade extended far. Perhaps military conquest was a less effective purveyor than the traffic which it disrupted.

But if a few roads were blocked and some supplies curtailed, the Agadean kings may have obtained wealth by trade or even by tribute over another route which, unmentioned or at least

[1] G, 42, 372 ff. A like deficiency has been noticed in the ancient cities of the Indus, §11, 19, 88. But see now A, 23, 49 f. and 54; A, 3.

[2] G, 42, 30 and 285 ff.; G, 12, 251.

unidentified in the records of ancient business, has come into great prominence through modern discovery. Material evidence derived from regular excavations in Babylonia places it beyond doubt that commercial and personal contact was maintained with a region of high civilization centred in the basin of the Indus, some 1 500 miles to the east across inhospitable country. At half a dozen places have been found antiquities clearly derived from or influenced by this distant culture, which has been fully revealed only within the last forty years. Especially clear is this in certain seals,[1] found mostly on the sites of Ur and Eshnunna, which are engraved with pictures of animals belonging unmistakably to the repertoire of the Indian seals, and the connexion is made certain by the presence of the beautifully formed and still undeciphered writing of the Indus people. Among the seals found in Babylonia the proportion of cylinders is much higher than at the Indian sites, where these are exceedingly rare, as though these seals had been made specially for the Babylonian trade. Careful observation of the finds in Babylonia has placed most of them in the Agade period, and although indications such as the etched cornelian beads may suggest that the connexion was older, it certainly flourished then as never before or after. The reasons for this it would be vain at present to conjecture, particularly as the major Indian sites, Harappā and Mohenjo Daro, have but an ill-defined internal chronology and none in comparative historical terms except the Akkadian synchronism.

Although possible land-routes may not yet be sufficiently explored there is much to suggest that connexion between the two regions was mostly by sea, along the Persian Gulf and the shores of Makrān and of Baluchistān.[2] Imports by shipping from Tilmun are attested even in the preceding age, and references to Magan and Meluhha, always in a maritime connexion, become relatively frequent during the Agade period. Uncertainty still persists upon the location of all these lands, but it becomes more and more likely that they were stages (in the west–east direction) along this part of a sea-trade route which possibly even then had something of the vastly wider extension which it attained in the middle ages.[3]

[1] §IV, 5; §II, 19, 85 f.; §II, 14, 207 f. and 105 ff.; A, 14, line 65 (elephants at Agade); see Plate 42 (*c*).

[2] See above, p. 439; A, 7.

[3] §IV, 14, 57 ff.; §IV, 10; §IV, 1; §IV, 10; A, 30.

V. THE LAST KINGS OF AGADE AND THE GUTIAN SUPREMACY

There remained in the memory of later ages a confused tradition that the reign of Naram-Sin ended in eclipse. Most explicitly, a late chronicle[1] declares that the god Marduk twice raised up against him the horde of Gutians, who harried his people and received his kingdom as the god's gift. A less definite story, which has been noticed above (pp. 442 ff.), tells of the descent upon Sumer and Akkad of a foreign enemy called by the name given to various barbarous peoples, Umman Manda, which appears to have begun its career from the north-west, for the course of its devastation is a great sweep from its first victim the city of Purushkhandar(?), seemingly the town in Asia Minor to which Sargon made his epic march, and continuing south-eastwards until it swept over Gutium itself, over Elam, and did not end before it had overrun also the lands beyond the Persian Gulf, Tilmun, Magan, and Meluhha. Nothing indicates whether the invasion herein related took place at the outset rather than at the end of his reign. As for the chronicle, its ascription to Naram-Sin of the disaster ultimately inflicted by the Gutians is in conformity with a theory of its compiler, that all the great figures of the past had successively been unregardful of the cult of Marduk and therefore rejected by that supreme god. This, no doubt, if the text were better preserved, would be a prelude to the establishment of the only true kingdom, temple, and cult at Babylon itself.

But if Naram-Sin ended his life with a realm not much impaired, there were already signs of decay, and ample presages of the troubles which were to burst upon his son. Elam under Kutik-In-Shushinak was growing independent and almost defiant, and the wild men of the Zagros were poised to swoop upon the wealthy land which they saw protected only by a weakening arm. The old king died at length after a reign of thirty-seven years, and left this menacing situation to his son Shar-kali-sharri. Whether he was the eldest is not known, but another son of Naram-Sin bore the significant name of Bin-kali-sharri, the two brothers thus standing in a relation which among the old Sumerian dynasts would have marked a king and his son destined to reign after him. But Shar-kali-sharri was to have no successor, at least not from the old family of Sargon. No more than for the other kings of Agade is there an internal chronology of his reign, but

[1] §1, 20, erster Teil, 53 ff.; see also A, 14, 48 f.

beyond doubt his troubles began early. For almost the first time in this dynasty we have the advantage of several year-names or dating formulae[1] referring to warlike achievements. Naturally these happenings are reported under the colour of victories, but the list of enemies, short as it is, gives eloquent testimony of the precarious hold which he kept upon his nearer dominions, and of the loss of his more distant provinces.

First in the list are Elam and Zakhara, the latter a small border state which had joined in the resistance to Rimush; these allies now had the temerity to launch an invasion of Babylonia itself, where they attacked the ancient city of Akshak. Here they were met and (as he claims) defeated by Shar-kali-sharri; at least they retired to their own countries, where Kutik-In-Shushinak was so far from discredited that he proclaimed himself 'mighty king of Awan' and possessor of the 'four regions', in the very style assumed hitherto by the Agadean overlords. From this eastern battlefield Shar-kali-sharri was called away far to the north-west to face another foe. A second year-date proclaims that 'he overcame the Amorite in Basar'. A new wave of Semitic invaders, like that which had borne in the Akkadians themselves, was in motion towards the wealthy cities of the south, and the possessor was hemmed in between two converging attacks. In this posture the fate of Shar-kali-sharri was closely similar to that of Ibbi-Sin in the next age of Babylonian history, forced to turn desperately from one flank to the other, holding off with failing blows the pressure which was at length to crush in his kingdom. This battle to ward off the Amorite invasion took place at Basar,[2] which has been probably identified with the range of hills still called Jebel el-Bishrī. These hills which extend towards the right bank of the Euphrates below Raqqah were sometimes passed by Assyrian armies on the march in later ages; they are about 350 miles from Shar-kali-sharri's other battlefield at Akshak—so wide a space had the hard-pressed king to defend.

But whatever calls there were upon him in the west it was from the other side that danger came, as the year-dates imperfectly reveal. One of these records vaguely that 'a campaign was launched against Gutium', while another claims a brilliant success—'he made prisoner Sharlak, king of Gutium'. Again we are reminded of Ibbi-Sin who claimed, no doubt with truth, successes, even triumphs, against his enemies both west and east. But in both

[1] G, 17, 204; G, 41, 133; G, 30, 5 f.

[2] §1, 22, 149 f.; §11, 3, 29 f.; A, 6, 236 f.; the scene long afterwards (A.D. 692–3) of a tribal battle celebrated in Arabian history.

cases it was a battle being slowly lost. Shar-kali-sharri is recorded to have reigned twenty-five years, Ibbi-Sin about the same, and in neither case do we know how the collapse finally came. But the resemblance ends here for whereas the Dynasty of Ur disappeared, that of Agade, although it passed through a short period of convulsion with four ephemeral occupants of the throne, survived into a new lease when two kings followed each other regularly with normal lengths of rule. Very little more, however, is heard about the great dynasty of Agade, and there can be no doubt that it was practically overthrown by the mountaineers, and that their main attack ended or followed directly upon the reign of Shar-kali-sharri.

The confusion is reflected in a contemporary letter[1] from a man who was striving to rehabilitate his farm after the devastation, and in a striking poetical account,[2] written in Sumerian, which purports to describe the glories and the downfall of Agade. In the pride of dominion and wealth Naram-Sin (for to his reign is the disaster assigned in this account) had committed a sacrilegious assault upon the holy city of Nippur and its temple, leaving everything in ruins. No reason is given for this outrage, but its effect was to enrage not only the supreme god Enlil, who visited Sumer with foreign invasion of the Gutians and with famine, but other gods as well, who cursed the guilty city of Agade and vowed its desolation and the ruin of all its inhabitants. This doom was dramatically fulfilled, and life came almost to an end in the tyrant's capital. To mark this catastrophe even the king-list halts for a moment its jog-trot of names and numbers to ask rhetorically 'who was king, who was not king?' before it names four shadow-figures who claimed the throne within three years. This phrase itself came to denote the occasion, for an item[3] in the collection of the haruspices marked the occurrence of a certain sign as 'the omen of "who was king, who was not king?"' and went on to observe that this fateful occasion was marked also by the prodigy of an ox eating the flesh of an ox at the moment when the king himself was offering the sacrifice which was to read him the decree of fate. Indeed, the downfall of this monarchy provided many memories for those who could trace significant incidents accompanying the march of events, for there is a collection[4] formed by a later student of 'forty-seven strange signs which went to (announce) the fall of Akkad', and another omen inscribed upon a model of the sheep's liver[5] shows in actual representation what

[1] §v, 9; A, 32, no. 2. See Plate 41 (*b*).
[2] G, 22, 267 ff.; G, 4, 760 f.; A, 14.
[3] §1, 30, no. 56.
[4] G, 19, vol. II, 965 ff.; §v, 14; §v, 14.
[5] §1, 34, no. 4; §1, 30, no. 86.

it was that portended the ruin of Agade. Still one more omen is worth quoting for an apparent hint of the fatal event when the Gutians overthrew the kingdom; such and such marks[1] were 'the omen of Shar-kali-sharri. . . ruin of Akkad; the enemy will fall upon thy peace'. It might seem from this that the vigilance of the kingdom was deceived by a sudden and overwhelming rush of the wild tribes. As for the doomed king himself, another omen[2] declares that he met the same mysterious death as Rimush, by the 'seals' of his servants.

Of the four factionary kings who could not maintain themselves even against one another hardly anything is known, as would be expected, although there has survived a short inscription[3] perhaps belonging to Elulu, one of them. These were followed by two who ended the dynasty with reigns of considerable length, probably when the first force of the Gutian invasion was spent, for a few inscriptions reveal that the rule of the last king, named Shu-Durul,[4] was of some importance and extended to Eshnunna. It is not possible to discover how this partial supremacy fitted in to the general but undoubtedly loose sovereignty of the Gutians. These are allowed in the list twenty or twenty-one kings and a total of 125 years of supremacy. At the time of the invasion either they had not a king at all, as one version runs, that is, they were typical barbarians, or their king was one whose name was not preserved, a reading which has better authority, though less point. The Gutian kings have left, in any case, very little mark upon Babylonian history, and very few monuments of their feeble and sporadic rule. Their names, outlandish at first, show a tendency towards the end to take on a Babylonian colour, for no doubt the superior culture of the plains gradually permeated the rude tribesmen. A few monuments, dedications inscribed with their names,[5] attest the decent observance of these alien rulers towards the impressive cults which they were ill able to comprehend. But for the most part they were doubtless mere destroyers and harpies of the wealth of the country. Their passage over Assyria from which we have no written evidence (as indeed there is hardly any from anywhere in this time of decadence) is marked by the condition of the ruins at the city of Ashur, where upon the site of the great and flourishing temple of Ishtar,[6] which had been filled with works of art until the end of the Agadean dynasty, there was

[1] §1, 30, no. 21.
[2] §1, 17, 258 f.; A, 25, p. 30.
[3] §v, 6.
[4] G, 17, 205; G, 25, 31.
[5] G, 3, 170 f. and 300 f.: G, 38, 98 ff.; A, 14, line 70.
[6] G, 1, 95 f.; G, 2. 78 f.

found nothing in the succeeding level except the remains of hovels covering the sacred site; if these were not the huts of the mountaineers themselves, they had reduced the remnant of the inhabitants to this miserable pass. Nothing was recalled concerning this period, ever afterwards held in humiliating memory by the Babylonians, except its end, a glorious deliverance hailed no less fervently and followed by no less vigorous a reaction, than the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt.

Although the king-list, in its usual schematic manner, would have the Gutians to reign on unrivalled until their overthrow, there is much to suggest that their ascendancy, always partial and impermanent, had shrunk before their banishment to a sporadic domination, for it is evident that other dynasties, both in the king-list and omitted from it, were ruling other parts of the land before the Gutians finally decamped. The dynasty of Agade itself, after a period of convulsion, rallied with the advent of two kings, who maintained themselves in some state for reigns of normal length. After Agade the list arranges, not yet the Gutians, but a group of five obscure kings, almost unknown otherwise, who ruled for thirty years as the Fourth Dynasty of Uruk,[1] and were doubtless contemporary with some of the Gutians, perhaps with the last kings of Agade. It happens too that Lagash is again pre-eminent in the revival of Sumerian traditions after the long Akkadian rule and the barbarian interlude, just as the same city had been in the Early Dynastic period, without in either age gaining admission to the list of sovereigns. In the latter years of Naram-Sin and the earlier of Shar-kali-sharri a certain Lugal-ushumgal was *ensi* of the city,[2] and there were several others very little known, who lived like him as vassals of Agade. But after the fall of Shar-kali-sharri, the style and dating of the business documents alter, for the years are named not with the official formulae prescribed from Agade but after religious celebrations by the local rulers.

The emergence of Lagash to a period of high prosperity is marked by the reign of Ur-Baba, who attained enough independence and wealth to undertake rebuilding of temples and irrigation works about his city, and to patronize a remarkable school of sculptors in hard stone, who were to produce, in the next two generations, the most finished masterpieces of Babylonian statuary. The small inscribed statue of himself,[3] in dolerite, and now lacking its head, gives promise but not as yet fulfilment, for

[1] G, 18, 114 ff.; A, 37, no. 15; A, 16, 110.
[2] §v, 10, 30 f.
[3] §v, 8, pls. 7 f.; G, 39, 60 f.; § v. 7, 144.

it is squat and lifeless. Unlike his successor Gudea this governor makes no boast of having sent abroad for the stone to make his statues, but he was not a merely local magnate, for a daughter of his was priestess of the Moon-god at Ur and dedicated an inscribed vase there.[1] Herein again is shown that close connexion between Lagash and Ur which had existed in the Early Dynastic period since the time of Ur-Nanshe. Another daughter was wife to a subsequent ruler named Ur-gar, but a better-known member of his family was Nammakhni, another son-in-law, who was also the grandson of one Kaku, but neither the count of generations nor the style of a tablet,[2] which names the accession year of Kaku, suggests that he can have been the king of the Second Dynasty of Ur, defeated by Rimush.

Nammakhni did some building in Lagash, and a few other monuments bear his name, but like certain others his reign is best known from its end, for he was the victim of another conqueror Ur-Nammu, founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur, who boasts of this victory in the prologue to his laws.[3] The synchronism, interesting in itself, gives rise to a difficult historical problem, for if Nammakhni was a predecessor of Gudea, as supposed, it would be necessary to regard Gudea himself as ruling during the time and under the sway of Ur-Nammu and the sovereignty of Ur; but the degree of independence which the inscriptions of Gudea display, the complete absence from these of the slightest allusion to Ur and to any overlord, and their actual presence at Ur itself[4] make such a dependence hardly conceivable. Yet there seems to be no room for his reign, apparently of some length, in the years between Ur-Baba and the rise of Ur-Nammu.

In the balance of contemporary power Gudea was doubtless no more than one of the local princes who were strong enough to sustain themselves in their own cities and palaces but not to meddle much with their neighbours. He maintained the connexion Ur-Baba had with Ur, and he informs us, in one of his long inscriptions, that he sent a military expedition against the districts of Anshan and Elam,[5] smote them and dedicated their spoils to his god Ningirsu. The great event of his reign was the rebuilding of this god's house, called E-ninnu. With this enterprise all of his inscriptions are connected either as foundation deposits and bricks or as objects (statues, vases, mace-heads) to furnish the interior. From the inscriptions so liberally spread

[1] G, 14, no. 25; §v, 10, 23.
[2] G, 39, 226 (7); A, 15, 5 f.
[3] §v, 3, 45; §v, 12, 172.
[4] G, 14, nos. 26–8; A 15, 11 ff.; A, 39, 53 ff.
[5] §v, 4, 60 f.

over these we learn many interesting details of religious observance in his time, and obtain an unrivalled picture of the life of gods and men in the Sumerian cities, where these two orders of beings lived in such perpetual contact and with such parallel institutions that the universal service owed to the principal god seemed to put all other creatures on the same level, and to make it almost indistinguishable whether the servant, from the steward to the ass-herd, was god or man. Upon the construction of E-ninnu Gudea expended all his wealth and influence, and one of his most interesting passages,[1] in describing these efforts, gives a remarkable picture of the resources of his day and of the external conditions in the land. Only once did the temple receive a foreign booty, but an immense area was laid under contribution for fine building materials—timbers of various kinds both from the east and from the west, ornamental stones from different parts of Syria, gold dust from Armenia, and bitumen from the neighbourhood of Kirkuk. No doubt all of these materials were obtained by caravan trade, and since this passes, even under the most oppressive governments, subject to the payment of tolls, it would not be necessary to suppose that Gudea's far-brought conveyance implied the removal of central authority—in this case of the Gutians. But his independent warlike foray against Elam would not have been tolerated by an effective overlord, and it seems to have been the case that the last king of the Gutians had brought about a cessation of traffic, for a striking phrase in the inscription which relates his overthrow says 'he had made long grass to grow upon the highways of the land'.[2] Moreover, Gudea himself represents his freedom to trade as a benefit granted by the god himself, who 'opened the road from the upper sea unto the lower'. There is reason then to believe that part of Gudea's reign fell in the period after the final defeat of the Gutians.

The glory of this otherwise petty kingdom is the artistic triumphs with which some happy circumstances endowed it. Among the ruins of Lagash have been found, at various times in the last seventy years, the famous statues[3] of Gudea and of his son Ur-Ningirsu which represent to us the highest achievements of Sumerian sculpture. They are, indeed, of different merit, some having an unpleasing squat proportion which gives them a grotesque effect, accentuated by the formal posture of the hands, and the accidental loss of the heads. These heads, when preserved,

[1] Cylinder A, col. xv; §v, 1, 152 f.; §v, 2, 86 f.
[2] §vi, 5 and 6; A, 39, 53.
[3] §v, 7, 160 ff.; §v, 11, 63 ff.; See Plate 42 (*b*).

have finely marked features, and they gain greatly, in modern estimation, by having the eyes carved, and not inlaid with other materials, a practice which gave to so many Sumerian figures a repulsive, staring look; though it is beyond doubt that the eyes of the Gudea figures also were originally painted, and may well have looked just as crude as the inlay. In the best examples the robe too, and the bare shoulder and arm are most delicately modelled. These masterpieces arouse regret for the disappearance of much more which Gudea tells us he made for the furnishings of Ningirsu's temple. But in this information he has left us another kind of masterpiece, for his inscriptions, despite their uniformity of purport, give the Sumerian language in its most developed form, divorced alike from primitive awkwardness and from late artificiality; they are, in fact, the Sumerian classic, just as the Code of Hammurabi is the Akkadian. Literary ability was native at Lagash, for it seems no accident that the same city should have produced the best descriptive (if it cannot be called historical) writing both in the Early Dynastic age and at the end of the Gutian oppression.

VI. THE EXPULSION OF THE GUTIANS

That oppression, as suggested above, came to a decisive end probably in the lifetime of Gudea himself, by the act of a national hero. This was Utu-khegal, king of Uruk, who in the king-list represents alone the Fifth Dynasty of that city, and, in accordance with its usual scheme, is proclaimed sovereign of the land in virtue of his victory over the Gutians. Apart from a few inscriptions of his own,[1] from his place in the king-list, and from some ominous recollections of his rival's fate, Utu-khegal appears in two other documents. One is a late chronicle,[2] which knew the one memorable fact about him, but quite subordinates this to a pietistic anecdote about his being a fisherman who was impiously stopped by the Gutians from offering his catch to the god Marduk, and in his turn offended the same deity and was drowned. The other is of quite unusual interest, for it is a copy of the hero's own account of his victory, which may have been carved originally upon a sculptured monument.[3]

Its language is strong and vivid. Without any preamble it

[1] G, 3, 360 f.; §VI, 1; §VI 4, nos. 18–20; cf. *R.A.* 51, 44.
[2] §I, 20, erster Teil, 55.
[3] §VI, 5 and 6; now said (A, 14, 48) not to be original.

plunges into a denunciation of 'Gutium, the stinging serpent of the hills, who was the enemy of the gods, who had carried off the kingship of Sumer to the mountains and filled Sumer with evil', robbing wives and children and committing all wickedness in the land. The god Enlil, it continues, resolved to 'destroy its name' and for his instrument chose Utu-khegal, king of Uruk. The story moves swiftly—the king prayed to his city-goddess Inanna, exposing the oppression of the Gutians, and the goddess 'chose' him by a divine sign. Marching out of Uruk with its citizen-soldiers he harangued them at a place called 'Temple of Ishkur'; assured of support by two great and two minor gods[1] he purposed to destroy Gutium. The levies of Uruk and Kullab answered with a shout and pressed behind him. On the fourth day's march he reached a canal, on the fifth a place called 'Shrine of Ili-tabba', where he met two 'lieutenants' (with good Babylonian names) sent by the king of Gutium perhaps to demand his surrender. The sixth day's march brought him to Ennigi where he besought the aid of the Weather God to whom that place belonged. Here the battle was joined, the enemy host being commanded by the two lieutenants under the king Tirigan himself, who had but newly come to the throne, for the king-list gives him a reign of only forty days. The issue was a Sumerian triumph; Tirigan 'fled away alone', and sought to take refuge in a town called Dubrum, which, however, hearing the result of the battle, rejected the fugitive, and handed him over prisoner with his wife and son to the victor, who 'set his foot upon his neck, and restored the kingship of Sumer into its own hand'. This famous victory, like so many other historical incidents, was remembered in the diviners' books —the presence of six small vessels upon the liver was an 'omen of the king Tirigan who fled in the midst of his host'.[2] Still more menacing was an eclipse of the moon with certain attendant phenomena on the fourteenth of the month of Tammuz: 'a decision will be given to the king of the Gutians, there will be a downfall of the Gutians in battle, the land will be left naked'.[3] The omen has more than a superstitious interest, for the day of the eclipse and its attendant circumstances offer to modern chronologers a possibility of fixing the date of this battle and the end of the Gutian dynasty. It may be added that another omen[4] seems to corroborate the story that Utu-khegal's life ended by drowning, while he supervised the building of a river-dam.

[1] §1, 21, 138 n. 109; A, 35. [2] §1, 17, 259; §1, 47, 234 f.; §1, 30, no. 25.
[3] G, 19, vol. II, 554; §VI, 8, 86 f.; §VI, 3, 90.
[4] §1, 30, no. 48.

The last words of his inscription are pregnant with a sense of what this victory meant. Once again, it was not the mere supplanting of one city by another, when both were dimly conscious of an underlying unity. Two centuries of subjection, first to the alien Akkadians and then, worse still, to the execrable Gutians, had kindled the national sentiment into a flame. At the beginning of each reign the revolt had been fiercer, the repression more severe. When deliverance came at last it released a flood of Sumerian patriotism and a burst of energy which, however, had to constrain itself within narrower bounds than Sargon had set. As to the sentiment it is a probable opinion that the king-list itself, with its fundamental ideas of the nationality and unity of a common kingship, was a product of the days of Utu-khegal,[1] when the past and present experiences of the people might seem most apt to have engendered that faith. As to the energy, this was expressed in the foreign victories and the domestic state which were to be achieved by the Third Dynasty of Ur.

[1] G, 18, 128 ff. and 140 f.; criticized in §VI, 2, 49 ff.

CHAPTER XXII

BABYLONIA, *c.* 2120–1800 B.C.

I. THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR

THE ancient kingship of Sumer, so gloriously regained by Utu-khegal with his expulsion of the Gutians, was his for a very brief space, his reign lasting for not much more than seven years,[1] coming to an abrupt end, and his city of Uruk therewith losing the sovereignty. During these years and for some three decades longer the great impulse of national sentiment and strength which had thrown off the enemy seemed to have exhausted itself in that one exertion. Of Utu-khegal himself nothing more was preserved by the historical memory of his country than his one heroic act and a story about his fate.[2] But the hazard of modern discovery has been kinder; at Ur and in its neighbourhood inscriptions have been found which show the sovereign concerning himself with the affairs of that city, and thereby they explain the origin of the Third Dynasty of Ur which was to supplant Uruk—by conquest, according to the king-list's unvarying phrase, but nothing is known of a war. In the first of these inscriptions[3] occurs the name of Ur-Nammu, not yet king but only deputy over the city for Utû-khegal, on whose behalf he undertook to restore a part of the great temple at Ur, a work of which so much remains to this day.

The Third Dynasty of Ur began therefore with the appointment of its first member by the preceding king, who doubtless selected one of his principal adherents, perhaps not a native of the place he was given to rule. Another inscription, upon modest little clay cones from unknown sites,[4] is of Utu-khegal himself. These cones are dedicated to the deities Ningirsu and Nanshe, the owners of Lagash, and relate that Utu-khegal fixed the boundary of their possessions 'to the man of Ur'. It is natural to conclude from this that a boundary dispute had arisen between Ur and Lagash, in which Ur was the aggressor, and that Utu-khegal was called upon, in his superior capacity, to decide, whereupon he drew the boundary between two cities as Mesilim had done in a former age when the disputants were Lagash and

[1] G, 19, 120 f.
[2] §1, 27, erster Teil, 55.
[3] G, 15, no. 30; §1, 29, 52.
[4] §1, 18; §1, 60, nos. 18–20.

Umma,[1] each then, as now, being the domain of its divine landlord. Several of these little clay cones have been found and no doubt hundreds of them were made to fix in a low wall which, together with a canal,[2] marked the boundary. The aggressive 'man of Ur', to whom the award is clearly indicated as a rebuff, can be no other than Ur-Nammu, and it is not unlikely that the offence given by this adjudication contributed to his casting off allegiance to Uruk, and possibly provoking a contest in which the rebel was successful.

Sparsity of information about the history of the Third Dynasty of Ur, how it won, sustained, and finally lost its sway, is one of the major disappointments of Babylonian records. The geographical extent of its authority, even if it should not be compared with that conquered by the kings of Agade,[3] was certainly wide, but no royal inscriptions make any mention of it, and few discoveries outside the nearer Babylonian limits shed any light upon it. Most of the information which exists is in the date-formulae appended to business documents, that is, the official 'names' given to each year by which almost every administrative or legal tablet was concluded. This cumbrous system had been in use long before, but with the Third Dynasty the formulae are, for the first time, preserved with tolerable completeness. Valuable as these are, their shortcomings as historical evidence are manifest—their extreme brevity, their arbitrary selection of one among the events of a year to give a designation to it,[4] their preoccupation with purely ceremonial occasions, and their dependence for chronological value upon our having the means to fix their order. For reasons unknown the obvious and much more satisfactory method of dating by the regnal years of kings was not brought into general use until the Kassite period.[5] In respect of the Third Dynasty we are fortunate enough not only to possess most of the formulae but to know also their official order,[6] and can therefore take full advantage of such information as they afford. This does not apply to the whole period. At the beginning the dates of Ur-Nammu are largely unknown and unfixed, and even for the first half of his successor's reign they are not well attested, and have little interest. Again, at the end, when the dynasty was sinking under converging attacks, the gallant and effective struggle of

[1] See above, p. 118; §1, 40, 87.
[2] G, 33, 188 (i); §1, 2, 16; §1, 30, 27, no. 28.
[3] §IV, 12, 80; §1, 57; §1, 24; A, 34, 59 ff.
[4] For the method used see G, 7, 26 ff.; G, 31, 12 ff.
[5] See *C.A.H.* 1³, ch. VI, p. 197. [6] §1, 54; §1, 57; G, 5, vol. II, 140 ff.

Ibbi-Sin is but faintly adumbrated by the mention of events which cannot be observed in a fixed order.

Ur-Nammu reigned eighteen years, counted probably from his breach with Uruk. By no means so many date-formulae can be attributed with certainty to these years.[1] One of them shows him appointing a son to the priesthood of Uruk, another marks a step to security, when 'the wall of Ur was built'. From a boast put into his mouth by a hymn[2] it appears that he still had to finish purging the land from the Gutian invaders, but the only positive military achievement which is attested (and that by himself) is a victory over Nammakhni, the ruler of Lagash, as recorded in the prologue to his laws.[3] This forcible reversal of the diplomatic defeat inflicted by Utu-khegal can hardly have been a major event in the rise of Ur to sovereignty, for even amid the general collapse left behind them by the Gutians there must have been stronger rivals than Lagash. Most interesting of the date-formulae preserved is that which proclaims that 'he made straight the road from below to above', which can be understood to mean a march from the lower sea (the Persian Gulf) to the upper sea (the Mediterranean, on the north Syrian coast), but nothing more is known about it and there is no external evidence, unless some doubtful indication of a palace-building at the site now called Tell Brak, on the Upper Khabur,[4] may be thought enough to attest the presence of Ur-Nammu in the farther north-west. But nearer home was the city of Mari, on the Middle Euphrates, which clearly owed him no allegiance, for it was then under independent governors whose names have been found in the recent excavations;[5] one of these had a daughter taken by marriage into the family of Ur-Nammu,[6] in the same way as the second king of Ur allied himself with neighbours on his north-eastern borders. Moreover, tablets of this period found at Mari do not bear the date-formulae of Ur,[7] and in those formulae themselves, through the whole course of the dynasty, there is little appearance of the Euphratean lands or of Syria until, in the fourth year of Shu-Sin, the 'wall of Amurru' was built,[8] and this, so far from a measure of conquest, was a defence against invasion from that quarter. There is the same complete want of

[1] §1, 41, 397; §1, 57, 10 ff. [2] §1, 4, ii, 123, line 90; A, 7, 46, n. 12.
[3] See below, p. 620, and above, p. 459; §1, 39.
[4] §1, 50, 68 ff.; see above, pp. 506 ff.
[5] §1, 44, 152; A, 27, 21 f., n. 3. [6] §1, 5.
[7] §1, 9, 168; §1, 33, 185 ff.; §1, 44, 152; §1, 62, 174 f.
[8] See below, pp. 609 f.

information concerning any activity of Ur-Nammu in the districts beyond the Tigris, where his successors had to fight so many campaigns.

The fragmentary Laws of Ur-Nammu have recently received an, at least probable, addition with the publication of two parts of tablets found at Ur.[1] The laws thus preserved deal with sexual offences, with defence of women against such charges, with punishment of a slave-girl who presumes to set herself on a level with her mistress, and with wrongful acts in connection with land belonging to others. Juridical comments upon these have now been published by V. Korošec,[2] J. Klíma,[3] and J. J. Finkelstein.[4]

Perhaps in tacit acknowledgement of his limited sway he forbore to take the conquerors' title 'king of the four regions', which was assumed afterwards by his dynasty.[5] The largest attributions of power and wealth to him are made in some extant hymns of praise, one uttered by himself,[6] extravagantly celebrating the benefits he had conferred upon Ur and the glories vouchsafed to him by the grateful gods; indeed, he was hailed as a god himself in a song[7] which, amid much conventional eulogy, has a passing allusion to the 'righteousness' of the king, that is, to his laws.[8] Somewhat more explicit is another hymn about him[9] which was evidently composed to honour the king's exertions and munificence in restoring the temple of the divine ruler at Nippur. A last poem,[10] by contrast, is concerned with the death and obsequies of Ur-Nammu, his laments and the mourning of his family and city, consoled by the knowledge that rich gifts to the underworld deities have secured for him a fitting place among the shades. But the style of boast and flattery, as vague as it is vain, which swelled these courtly compositions and set the pattern for many others in the following generations, is destitute of real information upon the actual events of the reign or upon the personality of the monarch.

Inscriptions of Ur-Nammu[11] are found upon bricks, clay cones, and stone door-hinges from the numerous buildings and other works which he dedicated to the presiding gods in his capital and his subject cities. These works, of which imposing remains still survive, were undertaken principally in and about Ur, Nippur,

[1] A, 13.
[2] A, 17.
[3] A, 16.
[4] In *J.C.S.* 22 (1968-9), 66 ff.
[5] §1, 29, 52.
[6] §1, 4, ii, 118 ff.; §VII, 9, 113; §1, 55.
[7] §1, 46, 45 ff.; G, 4, part 44, pl. XIII; G, 12, 89; §1, 38, 6, n. 11.
[8] §1, 39; §1, 61; §VII, 3, 101 ff.
[9] G, 8, 87 ff.; §1, 4, ii, 106 ff.; §1, 55.
[10] §1, 4, i, 10 ff.; A, 19, 11, 17.
[11] §1, 30, 24 ff.

Uruk, and Larsa. Probably in virtue of his rule at Nippur he assumed a new title 'king of Sumer and Akkad',[1] and there he built the temple of Enlil, leaving to his son as tradition required the renovation of Tummal,[2] shrine of the god's consort. At Uruk his chief operations were upon the zikkurrat or temple-tower of the goddess Inanna and the enclosure surrounding it,[3] a worthy counterpart to the greatest of all his monuments, the tower of the Moon-god at Ur. Of this the main structure still exists,[4] impressive alike by its plan, its mass, and the excellence of its construction and materials. Two or three later kings who undertook to repair this gigantic pile have left traces of what seem by comparison pygmy hands upon it. The last builder, Nabonidus, relates that it was begun by Ur-Nammu and carried on by his son,[5] but that even he did not complete the work. Substantially it was the achievement of Ur-Nammu, and the story of its building was related by him in picture and word upon a great stone monument, of which a few scenes remain.[6] Of the inscription[7] nothing is left but the mention of certain canals which the king dug out, among these being one which is the subject of a clay cone[8] found at Lagash—the canal called Nanna-gugal, of which he made 'its reservoir like a sea'. This waterway, it is added, was a boundary-mark which must have divided the territories of Lagash and of Ur, and since Ur-Nammu goes on to celebrate the 'justice' he had established we may surmise that his canal took a different line from that imposed upon Ur in the days of his subordination to Utu-khegal.

Canals indeed figure prominently in the surviving texts of Ur-Nammu, and it is likely that restoration of the country's means of communication and water-supply accounted for much of his activity in repairing the dire effects of Gutian wastage and neglect. Nor was his purpose only local, although much work no doubt accompanied his re-survey of the boundaries of city-states,[9] in which canals were a notable feature. An operation of much wider importance is attested by clay cones[10] found in an area called Diqdiqqah,[11] north-east of Ur, which relate in rather

[1] §1, 29, 77 ff.
[2] G, 16, 61 ff.; §1, 59, 44.
[3] The modern discoveries are summarized in G, 25, 255.
[4] §1, 64. See Plate 49(*a*).
[5] §1, 45, 250 f.; §1, 64, 133.
[6] G, 35, vol. v, 397 ff.; §1, 4, i, 5 ff. (refs.). See Plate 49(*b*).
[7] G, 15, no. 44; §1, 30, 27 (Ur-Nammu 29).
[8] G, 33, 188 (i); §1, 2, 16; §1, 30, 27 (no. 28).
[9] §1, 42, 64 ff.
[10] G, 15, no. 50; §1, 30, 27 (no. 26); G, 27, 14 ff.; §1, 32, 181 ff.; §1, 39, 46.
[11] G, 35, vol. v, 18 ff.; §1, 32.

obscure terms that merchant-ships from Magan were again able to berth in a harbour at this place thanks to the operations of Ur-Nammu who had restored its direct communication with the open sea. This attests the resumption of an overseas trade which had flourished under the Dynasty of Agade, but its range is now found to be more restricted, for the remoter Meluhha[1] (wherever that is to be sought) is never mentioned, and seems no longer to lie within the orbit of voyages from southern Babylonia.[2]

To whatever limits confined, the reign of Ur-Nammu was beyond doubt a time of increasing power and wealth, sufficiently witnessed by his many great public works, although the tablets of administration, which furnish ubiquitous evidence of thriving activity under his successors, make but a scanty appearance in his time. A like progress may be assumed for the earlier years of his successor, a famous king whose name is invariably written with the signs ŠUL (or DUN)-GI, the reading of which is uncertain, but it is known that the name ended in *r*; for the present he can be called Shulgi.[3] He reigned most probably forty-eight years,[4] but of these the first twenty-one seem to have passed with little distinction, and the events commemorated by the date-formulae are almost entirely religious observances of a local character. The most interesting exception gives a glimpse of foreign affairs; his eighteenth year was that in which a daughter of his 'was raised to the ladyship of Markhashe', the Elamite district (Barakhshe, Warakhshe)[5] which had played so prominent a part in the history of the Agadean kings. But there is no information how this alliance (if such is meant) was brought about—conquest is in no way indicated. In all of these earlier years tablets are still rare, and nearly all of those extant were found at Lagash.[6] In the capital itself, among more than seventeen hundred tablets of this period published from the excavations,[7] not one is dated before the twenty-fourth year of this reign, the same in which these become common at other centres of the administration. It may be concluded that new regulations were issued at this time for strict collection and control of the revenues and outgoings, and this is also attested by a date-formula[8] (probably of the twenty-first year) which records that the king, by divine commandment, set in order the registry of lands belonging to the supreme god of Nippur and his consort. From care of this real estate the same

[1] See above, pp. 439 and 453.
[2] *G*, 27, 15.
[3] §1, 57, 14, n. 14.
[4] §1, 24; §1, 56.
[5] See above, pp. 432 and 436.
[6] *G*, 9, 36 f.
[7] *G*, 23.
[8] §1, 24, 153; §1, 57, 18.

rigour of book-keeping extended into all other branches of revenue, expenditure, and temple-business, and henceforth the accounting was so multifarious and minute that even single articles or heads of cattle and temporary lists were consigned to tablets, large or (mostly) small, of excellent quality and writing. Such 'business documents of the Third Dynasty' are now by far the most numerous in modern collections of cuneiform tablets.

While it is not possible to explain, for want of evidence, why this increased activity should have been postponed, much contrary to usage, until almost half-way through a long reign, it seems clear that the new fiscal control from the twenty-first year of Shulgi was imposed as a mobilization of resources to support a policy of expansion. The twentieth year was named as that when 'the men of Ur were sworn in as archers', and the twenty-fourth carries the record of the first foreign conquest. This campaign set the direction for all that were to follow, as moves in the never-ending struggle against the mountain-peoples of the north and east. Its objective, or at least its conquest, on this occasion was a place called Karakhar,[1] as yet unlocated, but its occurrence in company with other localities, attacked in subsequent campaigns, makes it certain that all of these are to be found in southern Kurdistān, among the troublesome neighbours or the elusive victims of later Assyrian kings. Some fixed points determine the general situation of all; Urbilum, captured in later expeditions of Shulgi and of his son, is the town called by the Assyrians Arba'ilu and now Irbil, in the plain between the two Zab rivers. Another place, Simurrum, has been sought in the neighbourhood of Altın Köprü on the Lesser Zab,[2] or to the south of this, being a neighbour to the land of Lullubum, which lay in the district of Sulaimaniyyah, as indicated by the rock-reliefs of Naram-Sin;[3] and finally the town of Shashrum, conquered by Shulgi and by his son, may with sufficient confidence be found at the place called in the following age Shusharra and now bearing the little-altered name of Shemshāra, an ancient mound 'on the right bank of the Lesser Zab, eight kilometres south-east of Rania and five kilometres west of Darband-i Ramkan (Sungasur Gorge)'.[4]

Other towns listed as destroyed in the unremitting wars of Shulgi and his son in this region are Kimash and Khumurti,[5] named with Madqa, from which Gudea had obtained asphalt,

[1] §IV, 2, 57; §I, 22, 118 f.; §IV, 6, 15; A, 22, 24; A, 33, no. 153.
[2] §IV, 6, 15, n. 8; §IV, 12; §I, 22, 123; §IV, 2, 114.
[3] See above, p. 443.
[4] §IV, 6, 70; A, 22, 24.
[5] §I, 22, 118; §I, 23, 105, n. 9.

and therefore likely to be near the places associated with the present petroleum industry; and Kharshi, which seems to be identified by a seal-inscription[1] as near Tuz Khurmatli, on the 'Adhaim river. Although the suggestion that Shashrum was an older form of the name of Ashur itself[2] has now been superseded by the discoveries at Shusharra (Shemshāra), noticed above, it is evident that so much concern with the immediately neighbouring lands of the later Assyrian kingdom implied control of the Assyrian territory itself by the kings of Ur, and there is direct witness of this. From Ashur itself comes a stone tablet dedicated by Zariqum,[3] calling himself governor of Ashur, 'for the life of Amar-Sin the mighty, king of Ur, king of the four regions', whereby it is certain that Ashur was a vassal-city of Ur under its next king. Hardly less clear is the testimony of certain stone figures found in the excavations there; a headless statue and a relief,[4] perhaps also a female figure,[5] are in a style which assigns them to the Third Dynasty. More recently the aforesaid discovery of written documents at Shemshāra has revealed how the rule of these neighbouring lands passed naturally to Assyria itself when a powerful kingdom had been established there following upon the collapse of Ur under the flood of West Semitic immigration, and how the troubles of controlling the borderlands with their alien and unruly inhabitants were then transferred to the new overlords.

Compared with the almost boundless conquests achieved by, or at least attributed to, the greatest kings of Agade, these wars of the Ur Dynasty may appear local,[6] but they were far from being mere jars with neighbours, although perhaps waged as much with the ultimate purpose of defence as of acquisition.[7] The theatre of war was at a mean distance of 400 miles from Ur, by the road up the east bank of the Tigris, rendered difficult by the successive tributaries to be crossed and by the nature of the ground. Reason enough for these repeated expeditions of Shulgi and of his sons, in which the same places may be 'destroyed' as often as 'nine times',[8] may be found in the opponents, among whom still appear the Gutians,[9] unreconciled to banishment from their long supremacy. But these were only one of several peoples

[1] G, 33, 174 f.; §IV, 2, 57; §IV, 8, 11.
[2] G, 5, vol. II, 144; §IV, 11, 148 f.
[3] §I, 10, 2 f.; §I, 28; §I, 30, 36, no. 15.
[4] G, 2, pls. 38*a* and 23*a*.
[5] G, 1, pls. 38 f.
[6] §IV, 12, 80.
[7] §I, 48, 16; §I, 34, 298.
[8] Simurrum and Lullubûm (Shulgi, year 44).
[9] See above, p. 597; §I, 43, 153.

having in common the character of hardy mountaineers, difficult to encounter, and inhabiting towns and villages of simple construction, easily restored after the retirement of each punitive expedition—such troublesome neighbours have continued to pose a problem unsolved by a succession of governments in Mesopotamia even down to the present day. At this time a fresh element of unrest was making its presence felt—the people called Hurrians,[1] first discernible in the period of Agade, were now gathering strength in the north-east, and a number of individuals with names characteristic of this nation appear in the tablets of the Third Dynasty. As yet it seems that they were still mostly confined to the lands east of the Tigris, and that the spread of their population to northern Mesopotamia and Syria took place in the succeeding generations.[2] One of their homes was the oft-stricken Simurrum, and it was perhaps there that Shulgi captured a persistent enemy, Tappa-darakh, as the omens recorded;[3] it is almost the only detail preserved concerning the wars of Shulgi.

More to the south, and despite the nominal rule of an Elamite king of Simashki,[4] the ascendancy of Shulgi over the settled land of Susiana, with its appendages to the east and north, was well established, and what can be discerned of his policy there is described in the next chapter. From the north-west of Babylonia, the region of the Euphrates, there is virtually no news, and peace seems mostly to have been kept. A slight allusion to Mari and Rapiqum appears in a fragmentary letter to the king,[5] there is one mention of 'booty from Amurru' towards the end of his reign,[6] and not long beforehand two of the date-formulae appointed were 'year' [and 'year after'] 'the wall of the land was built'.[7] Nothing, however, is known of the location or purpose of this defence, but it might be at least supposed a predecessor of Shu-Sin's wall against western invaders, so that Shulgi may have found in his later years a necessity to hold this other front while his main strength was employed in the east. It is true that a very different picture of the situation in this quarter is suggested by one or two isolated tablets[8] which record the delivery of single sheep to the official cattle-park from the governors of four cities not merely of the middle and upper Euphrates (Mari, Tuttul,

[1] §IV, 2, 50; see below, pp. 624 f.

[2] §IV, 8, 18 f.; §IV, 3; §V, 3, 232 ff.; see *C.A.H.* II[3], ch. I, sect. IV.

[3] §I, 21, 259 f.; §IV, 12, 75; §I, 22, 120 f.

[4] For the reading *Simashki* (instead of *Simash*), see J. R. Kupper, *Iraq* 31 (1969), 24–7.

[5] §I, 7, 12.

[6] §V, 3, 156.

[7] §I, 54, 17; A, 19, II, 18 f., no. 42.

[8] §I, 58, 120; cf. §I, 25, 18.

and Ibla) but of farthest Syria (Byblos itself). Two of these governors have the title of *ensi*, normally given to local officers appointed by the kings of Ur over their subject cities. But in the total absence of supporting evidence this is not enough to make it seem likely that the dynasty of Ur really held any effective sway in the north-west.

The very little more that tradition has to relate about a king who was nevertheless held to be one of the outstanding figures of the past may suggest that the want of historical records for this period was a real omission, not a mere accident of time. Chronicles and omens, which contribute so much to our knowledge of the Agadean kings, do not entirely omit Shulgi, but what they have to tell of him is jejune, unimportant, and not wholly trustworthy. He was remembered as a builder of the Tummal at Nippur,[1] and he appears in two passages of the chronicles; one of these, from a tablet found at Ashur,[2] relates that the god Marduk 'gave to Shulgi the son of Ur-Nammu the kingdom over the whole of the lands', but 'he did not fulfil the ordinances, he defiled its ritual, and his sin (was grievous)'. In this passage, apart from the neglect of Ur-Nammu as king, the ignoring of everything but the election by Marduk and the forfeiture because of impiety betrays not only the bigotry but perhaps also the ignorance of the compiler. His preoccupation makes it certain that the Ashur chronicle was a copy of a Babylonian original, and it was at Babylon where the other chronicle concerning Shulgi was found.[3] Its notice of the great king is no less trivial and biased—he 'cared greatly for Eridu which is on the shore of the sea, but he sought after evil, and the possessions of E-sagil and of Babylon he brought forth sacrilegiously'. The care for Eridu, as a rival seat of the god Ea, may have seemed to this partial scribe almost as criminal as the plunder of Marduk's temple, and it is possible that Shulgi did in fact despoil Babylon on behalf of his work at Eridu. A like accusation against Sargon reveals the same distortion in this writer's view of history, and his allegations are the more improbable or irrevelant as Babylon was not, in the days either of Sargon or of Shulgi, a place of much importance, though it did receive a royal appointee as governor[4] in the latter years of Shulgi. One or two quite insignificant references in omen-texts,[5] and the beginning of an alleged self-description,[6] are all that we

[1] §1, 59.
[2] §1, 27, erster Teil, 53 ff.
[3] §1, 36, vol. II, 11; G, 29, 266.
[4] §1, 63, 27; §1, 35, 15 f.
[5] G, 30, no. 5; G, 26, no. 19; §1, 21, 259; see above, p. 603.
[6] §1, 27, erster Teil, 81.

have from later generations concerning one of the greatest kings; unless indications are deceptive, not very much more was long remembered.

But at least until the succeeding age—the Old Babylonian period—Shulgi remained a conspicuous figure in the scribal schools, where two kinds of literary texts concerning him were studied and freely copied by pupils. One of these was letters, written by or to the monarch,[1] and preserved apparently more for their style as courtly addresses and elegant compositions than for the importance of their contents; for most of their lines, when addressed to the king, were occupied by reiterated salvoes of extravagant compliment. Several of such letters belonging to the reign of Shulgi have been identified.[2] The best preserved are a report from Ir-mu,[3] a royal representative abroad, and what is apparently a reply to this from the king. Ir-mu was a very important and powerful officer, probably the one who, under the name of Ir-Nanna, was able later to build a shrine at Lagash to the reigning king and dedicate it with an inscription detailing his great domains and calling himself 'high commissioner'.[4] In the days of Shulgi he was (if the same) in charge of a military force and detailed to represent his king in discussions with border chieftains. The letter of Ir-mu[5] relates to an occasion of this kind, when the opposite party was an independent or rebellious ruler, perhaps designated by his own name or by a title, but not otherwise known, and having his realm in some northern district no less vaguely called Subir (Subartu). The envoy reports that he was received by this potentate and his court without the becoming marks of respect, the ruler behaving in his presence with ostentatious freedom. He was, nevertheless, entertained honourably, which did not save him from some insults by the servants. What was the outcome of this mission does not appear. Shulgi's answer was discontented but ineffective—he complains that his representatives did not so act as to compel proper deference from the opponent, and he seems to exhort them to bear themselves more imperiously, but nothing solid can be gathered from the empty phrases which occupy most of the letter.

The other kind of literature, in which Shulgi is more prominent than any other king, is the royal hymns, where he appears saluted with almost divine honours from his court-poets, or speaking of

[1] §1, 12, 1 ff.; §1, 15, 73; §1, 11, 3, n. 27; A, 19, 11, 18 f. (nos. 42, 43).
[2] See §1, 11; §1, 43, 153 ff. [3] Otherwise read Arad-mu, Irda-mu.
[4] G, 33, 148 f., 202 f.; §1, 30, 38, no. 13; §1, 25, 9 f.; A, 33, no. 183.
[5] G, 22, 331 ff.; A, 5.

himself in a like strain. Some thirty of these hymns are still extant, in whole or parts;[1] amid much verbiage of extravagant eulogy appears some light upon the personality and even upon the achievements of their hero. The blessings of his rule and the signal favour which he received from the gods are naturally common topics, but this favour was bestowed not upon a stranger, however meritorious, but upon a kinsman, a descendant himself of gods and kings; his father (i.e. ancestor) was, he declares, the ancient demigod-king Lugalbanda, and his mother the goddess Nin-sun, mother also of Gilgamesh, whom Shulgi therefore freely called his 'brother'.[2] Going still farther, he audaciously claimed a like relation with the Sun-god himself.[3] A boast which he makes of his education and literary talent[4] might suggest that some of these fulsome effusions of his own praise were of his own composition. More factually, the king sometimes refers to his military successes in terms which clearly recall the manifold 'destruction' of places so prominent in the date-formulae.[5] The enemies inhabiting these are grouped under the name of 'Gutians', evidently as a general designation for the mountain-peoples, of sinister memory. Most informative of all, though concerning a matter more important to the king's pride than to his history, is the hymn[6] which celebrates a journey made by him at wondrous speed in the same day from Nippur to Ur and back, in defiance of a raging storm of wind and hail. This feat was made possible not only by Shulgi's own physical powers (described, of course, as superhuman), but by using the roads and relay-houses which his prudence had constructed.[7] Such were the bubbles of regal vanity and of hireling adulation, which were blown anew with the old breath in many of the succeeding reigns, until a desert orator came forward with the bare truth 'no king is powerful by himself'.[8] But upon Shulgi, at least, in a period of greater consolidation, no such verdict could have been justly pronounced.

As if literary pre-eminence were not enough, a recently published text[9] ascribes also to Shulgi the title of first royal musician, traditionally claimed by David. It reckons up no less than eight instruments upon which he was a master-performer, including the lyre of thirty strings, and the instrument so strangely named after the Sargonic king of Kish, Ur-Zababa; (see above, p. 418).

[1] §1, 16, 62 f.; §1, 17, 141; §VII, 9, 113; §VII, 9.
[2] §1, 16, 74 ff.; A, 34, 69.
[3] §1, 16, 76.
[4] §1, 13, 172; G, 22, 69.
[5] §1, 17, 146 f.
[6] §1, 16.
[7] §1, 16, 81 f. See A, 23, 83, no. 1.
[8] See *C.A.H.* II[3], ch. 1, sect. II.
[9] A, 11, 1, no. 81; also A, 15, 261.

The half-century-long reign of Shulgi ended with his burial in a splendidly built, and doubtless richly furnished, sepulchre at Ur,[1] but not a trace of his family's remains or of their funeral pomp has survived the disaster which was to overwhelm the last of his line. Meanwhile, the succession of Amar-Sin (or Bur-Sin),[2] his son, followed without any appearance of domestic strife or revolt, in strong contrast with the experience of the Agadean kings. The legitimacy of the Third Dynasty was accepted by the people, and the splendour of Shulgi's reign continued to adorn the nine years of his son. There was little respite in the north-east, and the second year of the new reign received the name 'year (when) King Amar-Sin ravaged Urbilum', renewing the chastisement inflicted five years before by Shulgi. Likewise the sixth and seventh years were called after expeditions against Shashrum and some new names in the date-lists—Khukhnuri with two other localities perhaps to be read Bitum-rabium and Beshru, and another town called Iaprum.[3] The first of these, Khukhnuri, was afterwards described by Ibbi-Sin as the 'bolt of the land of Anshan (or, Elam)',[4] and may perhaps therefore be sought east of Eshnunna: others are unknown but not likely to be far away.

These are all of the incidents which appear in the dates, apart from religious ceremonies, and the evidence of the tablets draws no very different picture. In sundry districts and towns, even upon the eastern frontier, commanders and governors are appointed by, and hold their office in submission to, the king of Ur, often undisturbed from one reign to the next. But there are signs that the empire was consolidated, even if not extended, by Amar-Sin, for governors are found installed for the first time in Markhashe, Simanum, Khamazi, and even in the newly subdued Khukhnuri.[5] From the east and north a continual traffic of 'messengers'[6] thronged the roads into Babylonia, testifying to and perhaps securing the peaceful condition of the realm. In this happy situation Amar-Sin was able to devote much of his ample revenue to temples and public edifices; he worked extensively at Nippur, where he seems to have received some special mark of favour from the god, which he included in his titles,[7] but his principal activity was in the capital itself, where several important

[1] G, 35, vol. xi, 345 ff. and vol. xii, 358 f. See Plate 50(*a*).

[2] *I.e.* according as the name was read in Sumerian or Akkadian: the question is open.

[3] §viii, 3, 53; A, 33, p. 105 (no. 111).

[4] G, 15, no. 88; §i, 54, 38 (*b*); G, 5, vol. ii, 146; §i, 11, 2, n. 16.

[5] §i, 35, 16.

[6] §iv, 5; §i, 34, 280 ff.; A, 33, no. 1.

[7] §i, 29, 133.

buildings are named in the inscriptions, and others found in the excavations have proved to be his. Most of all, his monument was the vast temple and tower called the *apsu* in Eridu, where the remains of his great structures cover the site and have been investigated by recent excavators.[1] Here the credit belongs to him more than to his father, despite the beginning made by the latter and the 'great care' of the sacred city for which he was praised —or perhaps blamed—by the chronicler. Later tradition knew hardly anything about Amar-Sin: as though in derision of our ignorance an omen[2] mocks us with the detail that he died from the 'bite' of a shoe, presumably a poisoned foot. He had built on to the funerary dwelling of his father in Ur a smaller addition with a similar plan,[3] which also included two vaults for the principal burials.

In regular succession again he was followed on the throne by Shu-Sin (or Gimil-Sin), whom the king-list calls his son, but more direct evidence establishes that he was a brother.[4] From the date-formulae it might seem that his reign was mostly peaceful, but one of the troublesome neighbours in the north-east, Simanum, had to be punished in the third year, and similarly Zabshali in the seventh. The bare mention of these names is supplemented by the remains of some inscriptions[5] graven upon trophies and monuments which the victor dedicated in Nippur. These inscriptions were copied by scribes, and consequently something of their contents survives while the monuments have long disappeared—just as similar copies are the source of much that is known about the kings of Agade.[6] Both of the campaigns figuring in the date-formulae were represented by sculptured or cast figures. From conquered Simanum captives were carried away and were settled in a new cantonment which the king founded near Nippur, probably as a labour-camp for slaves to toil upon his public works. Of Zabshali more details are preserved from the copied inscriptions. The principal enemy was named Indasu, called governor of Zabshali (but Ziringu, and perhaps another, bear the same title). Together with him some ten more princes are named, with the places over which they ruled; the monument showed the king setting his foot upon the neck of Indasu, followed by the other captives, each marked with his own name, and the whole scene might be imagined not much unlike the celebrated sculpture of Darius at Bihistān. From Zabshali and its neighbouring lands

[1] §1, 49; §1, 1, 91 f.
[2] §1, 21, 261.
[3] G, 35, vol. xi, 355 ff.; A, 32, p. 7, no. 33.
[4] §1, 57, 20 f.
[5] §1, 11, 31.
[6] See above, p. 417.

was brought back a rich spoil of metals,[1] copper, tin, bronze, but also gold, out of which the king made a figure of himself[2] which he set up before the supreme god Enlil.

Despite all this, the peace in the east was uneasy, for although Shu-Sin was able to put in his officers as governors of Elamite cities (Urua[3] and Susa[4]), and to exact the homage of a temple erected to his 'divinity' in Eshnunna,[5] he found it necessary to entrust the warding of the eastern marches to a lieutenant with exceptional powers. For this responsibility he chose Ir-Nanna, governor of Lagash, who subsequently built there a shrine in honour of his master, upon the door-hinge stones of which he inscribed his titles. He was, first, 'high commissioner' (*sukkal-maḫ*)[6] of the king, and bore as domestic offices the governorship of Lagash and the priesthood of the god Enki. Others of his styles are governor (*ensi*) or commander (*šakkana*)[7] of a number of towns and districts on the eastward frontiers, the best-known of which are Urbilum, Khamazi, and Karakhar, all familiar from the wars of Shulgi, and also the *Su*-people[8] or Subarians, at that time living in the country east of the modern Mosul, perhaps including Assyria itself, which was certainly subject in the reign of Amar-Sin. Over this extensive lordship the exertions of Ir-Nanna, whatever they were, sufficed to keep order among or against the petty princedoms which existed in a state of semi-independence interspersed between the vassals of the king.

But no doubt the weightiest reason for this appointment of a commissioner in the east was the emergence, early in the reign of Shu-Sin, of a new danger menacing the empire of Ur as it had the Akkadian empire under Shar-kali-sharri.[9] The fourth official formula was 'year (when) the wall of Amurru was built', and a fuller version adds that the wall was called Muriq-Tidnim, 'keeping away Tidnum',[10] which was another name for the tribes of western origin and the lands from which they came. A double shadow began to fall again over Babylonia, but it could not close in until the successor of Shu-Sin was exhausted by a long and not unsuccessful defence. In what circumstances the tribes attacked is quite unknown, but it seems clear that they were defeated in battle and forced to flee by the way they came, along the Euphrates, pursued by the royal troops who advanced some

[1] §1, 48, 16; §1, 48, 247 f.; A, 21, 195; A, 32, 7, no. 34; A, 19, 11, 19, no. 43.
[2] §1, 11, 2, n. 36. [3] §1, 25, 6, n. 73. [4] See below, p. 567.
[5] §11, 7; A, 34, 66. [6] §1, 29, 114 f. [7] §1, 25, 8.
[8] A recent summary of the discussion concerning these in §1, 11, 16 ff.; A, 29, 16.
[9] See above, p. 455. [10] §v, 3, 156; §v, 2, 30; see also A, 1.

distance upstream[1]—how far is not clear. The question depends largely upon the location—whether at Hīt[2] or farther north[3]—of a town Duddul or Tuttul; in view of what follows the nearer seems the more likely. How slight a confidence was inspired by this victory is shown by the decision to build a defensive line against a fresh advance of the Amorites, a measure of doubt, if not of despair, whether in Babylonia, in China, or in Britain, when the limits of power are thought to have been reached, and barbarians are to be fenced off, no longer subdued in their own haunts.

This defence for the kingdom of Shu-Sin was ominously close to its heart. A fragmentary Sumerian letter gives some curious and surprising particulars about the extent and location of the 'Fender of Tidnum'. Its writer was Sharrum-bani, probably not the same as one of that name who had been already a city-governor in the reign of Amar-Sin;[4] the receiver's name is missing; it was not the king himself but rather a minister, for Sharrum-bani introduces himself as 'expert of the committee,[5] your servant', that is, a member of the board of technicians assembled by the king to plan and execute the great work. His instructions were to take advantage of the repulse of the Amorites and to build a wall so as to bar their further access. The work would involve the breaching of the banks both of the Tigris and the Euphrates (perhaps to fill a moat), but he was to take care that the breaching did not overwhelm the fields. The earthwork began from the Apkallat canal, and certain other intermediate points marked the line, but their names are not adequately preserved for the most part. There is, however, a clear statement that the (total ?) length of the wall was 26 *danna* or *bērū*, that is to say some 275 kilometres or 170 miles.

There are two principal arguments which suggest that the wall ran across the country in a region not far north-west of Baghdad.[6] The first is its beginning from the Apkallat canal—this name was already modified in a later syllabary to Aplakkat, which may be supposed the same as the Pallakottas canal cleared by Alexander in a later age, and this stream is associated with the town of Pallukat, generally sought in the modern Fallūjah.[7] Secondly, the length of the wall, about 170 miles, although much greater

[1] Refs. in §1, 11, 2, n. 24; §1, 30, 38, no. 9. See Plate 49 (*c*).
[2] See above, p. 424.
[3] §1, 22, 121; §1, 58, 121.
[4] §1, 25, 15.
[5] *gal-zu ukkina*. A, 11, 11, no. 183; §1, 3, 20 f.
[6] Its location recently discussed in §1, 3, 20 f.
[7] §1, 3, 11 f.

than the distance between the rivers at their closest, requires that it should have been situated where they approach each other, for the wall must have rested against some natural bastions on the far sides of each river. For the western end the neighbourhood of the present Lake Ḥabbaniyah is strongly suggested, for the eastern there is only the possibility that a 'Fortress before the Mountain'[1] (which was easily carried or outflanked by the nomads)[2] lay near a ridge of high ground between Fallūjah and 'Aqarqūf. If subsequent discovery is able to confirm this siting it will be necessary to conclude that Shu-Sin was already narrowly constricted by the twin pressures which were finally to crush his successor. As for his great wall, it proved even more ineffectual than such barriers have always been in the end. No more is heard of this vast and vain work, even if, as seems likely, it furnished a line or a foundation for similar works in later ages. Babylonia has no natural defences, and they were not to be provided by an artificial rampart so long that it could have hardly been effectually garrisoned.

The reign of Shu-Sin closed in this uneasy equilibrium, and his son Ibbi-Sin entered upon a tenure of twenty-four years,[3] destined to be illuminated by flashes of glory and heroic episodes, with which the king himself may be fairly credited, though it was to close in utter disaster. His first two years were untroubled and devoted to civil duties. Then came a routine chastisement of Simurrum, one of the troublesome north-eastern neighbours, then two or three more years of peace, during which, however, the approach of danger was signalled by the need to repair the walls of Ur and Nippur. Chronology after this is uncertain[4]—more date-formulae are preserved, with much interesting information, but no list of their order has been found. It is best, consequently, to consider in distribution the events which the formulae briefly indicate as occurring upon the two warlike fronts and at home.

To begin with the east—Ibbi-Sin in his sixth year repeated the policy of attempting to secure the fidelity of a foreign prince by a marriage-alliance, and sent his daughter Tukin-khaṭṭa-migrisha to the *ensi* of Zabshali, doubtless with as little permanent result as before. A later occasion upon the eastern frontier was one of triumph, for in a long formula Ibbi-Sin claims that he 'smote like a tempest Susa, Adamdun, and the land of Awan, subdued them in one day, and captured their ruler.' This prisoner may be identified as one of a local dynasty which had recently occupied

[1] §1, 3, 21 f.; §1, 31, 39; G, 7, 47, no. 207; §v, 4, 73; A, 19, 11, 18 f., no. 42.
[2] See below, p. 615. [3] §1, 57, 38, n. 149. [4] *Ibid.* 43.

the throne of a border state named Simashki.[1] His defeat was not severe enough to bring down the state, for a successor upon the throne of Simashki was certainly the wreaker of the great Elamite revenge upon the city of Ur. An ally was found by the insurgents in the land or city of Khukhnuri, the old opponent of Amar-Sin, for over this enemy too Ibbi-Sin boasted of a resounding victory; he calls it 'the bolt of the land of Anshan', and says that he smote it 'like a tempest and a deluge'. These valiant exploits staved off calamity for a considerable time, but it is only too clear that the successes were far from decisive. Other allies of the Elamites, at least in the final struggle with Ur, were the *Su*-people;[2] however these are to be identified, they seem to have lived in more primitive communities, not such as to suffer much from a mere burning and devastation.

Events at home were closely bound up with those on the Euphrates front, but the defect of chronology obscures the picture. It may be assumed that pressure on this side was continuous, since it had first been felt before the fourth year of Shu-Sin, but with the reign of his successor the menace became formidable. This coincided with the emergence of a dubious figure Ishbi-Erra, the 'man', that is governor, of Mari; not, as it seems, a westerner himself but a time-serving vassal who was able to turn the western invasion to his own advantage. There is no doubt that the invaders had easily passed the unavailing wall of Shu-Sin, and were already in the northern parts of the homeland early in the reign of Ibbi-Sin. Two models of the ominous sheep's liver found at Mari[3] show the fatal marks which accompanied the loss of part of his kingdom—not so much a revolt as detachment of his territory under Amorite lordships. Ibbi-Sin was not without his successes against these intruders, for one of his dates celebrates a year in which 'the Amorites, a torrent force which from of old knew not a city, made submission' to him.[4] Cowed as a vanguard may have been by this reverse the following hordes were but little affected and evidence of the inroads of Ishbi-Erra soon became ubiquitous. There are tablets[5] which contain lists of articles in gold, silver, bronze, and copper, collected from the temple-treasuries to pay 'the price of Isin',[6]

[1] See below, pp. 635 and 657.
[2] See above, p. 609, n. 8.
[3] G, 30, 42, nos. 6 and 7; G, 26, nos. 89 and 93.
[4] G, 23, 278, no. 13.
[5] G, 23, 225 f., nos. 702 and 704; §1, 47, 124 f.; G, 7, 46 f.; §1, 48, 180.
[6] G, 23, no. 702.

whether as a ransom for the city or to buy supplies for the capital. It is certain that negotiations were going on between the two rulers, possibly up to the eve of the Elamite raid which obliterated Ur and led to the captivity of Ibbi-Sin. In the year of triumph over Susa, Adamdun, and Awan a tablet from Ur[1] registers the issue of a travelling allowance to three men described as 'messengers of Ishbi-Erra' and a 'man of Isin'. By this time, therefore, Ishbi-Erra was in possession of Isin, and the fear which he inspired is proved by this payment to his envoys, perhaps the bearers of other unwelcome messages.

To judge by the cessation of documents bearing the official date-formulae of Ur, the defection of various cities began early in the reign of Ibbi-Sin.[2] But Isin seems to have retained some degree of loyalty until about the twelfth year of its nominal overlord,[3] after which Ishbi-Erra began using independent formulae as a ruler in his own right. Many scraps of information about the manœuvres of this man and other wavering vassals are conveyed by a number of letters, very imperfectly preserved in later school-copies.[4] One of the more complete[5] is from Ishbi-Erra himself, written at the time when he was still active in the service of Ur. He had been sent, he writes, to buy supplies of grain in the cities of Isin and Kazallu, north-west of the capital,[6] and had laid out the great sum of twenty talents of silver, with which he had amassed a vast quantity of provisions. But the invaders had broken in and were spreading everywhere, and because of the general insecurity Ishbi-Erra had concentrated his stores in Isin; he now had to find transport to Ur, and his letter asked for 600 barges to be sent up for this purpose. It ended with an encouragement to the king that he should press on with his war against Elam,[7] not being deterred by fears for his own country, since (the writer assures him) there was a great surplus of provisions in hand, and all the cities, particularly Isin and Nippur, were firmly held by him (probably in usurpation). Ibbi-Sin's reply to this reveals the strait to which he had been reduced[8]—he was willing to pay double the cost of the grain, but he had not the barges to send, his agent must try to find these among the northern cities. As to Isin and Nippur, the king behoved to grant formal confirmation of the authority which Ishbi-Erra had already assumed.

[1] G. 23, no. 1421. [2] §1, 31, 38. [3] *Ibid.* 43; §1, 57, 44.
[4] For a list of the parts available see §1, 11, 3, n. 27.
[5] §1, 31, 39 f.; §1, 3, 21 f.
[6] For the site of Isin §1, 32, 178 and pl. xxviii; for Kazallu §1, 42, 59 ff.
[7] §1, 8, 274 f.; §1, 3, 21 f. [8] §1, 31, 41.

A similar correspondence, of which something is preserved, was going on with the governor of Kazallu, a man who seems to have borne different names at different periods in his career. He is once addressed, by the king, as Puzur-Numushda, but again as Puzur-Shulgi,[1] and in either name there is a letter from him to the king.[2] The alternation is significant, in that he probably changed his name when renouncing the allegiance of Ur, his style of Puzur-Shulgi being official and indicative of loyalty to the empire. Further, it is of interest that a Puzur-Shulgi, so named and not likely to be a different person, was one of the 'messengers' of Ishbi-Erra to whom a viaticum was paid by Ibbi-Sin, as related above. The letter of Puzur-Shulgi (or Puzur-Numushda) reports the successful usurpation of Ishbi-Erra, and his attempt to add Kazallu to the cities which had already fallen under his sway. He had sent a messenger with a summons to surrender; the message was a mixture of boasts and promises, detailing the lands which had already acknowledged his rule, along 'the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, the Apkallat and Me-Enlil canals,[3] from the land Khamazi to the sea of Magan'. To these he announced that he would soon add Nippur and Ur itself, and would fortify his own capital Isin. All this, writes Puzur-Shulgi, he has already accomplished; he has seized Nippur, plundered Khamazi, installed his own nominees in Eshnunna, Kish, and elsewhere, and severely chastised those who sought to resist. The letter ends with a despairing appeal to a master who no longer had power to help, for Ibbi-Sin was penned closer and closer in his own territory.

A letter from him to the same vassal,[4] possibly a reply to the above, throws light upon the position in the north—reinforcements, it seems, had already been sent to Kazallu, but had not come into action, for fear of Ishbi-Erra, who had already begun his revolt, with so much success that (the king bitterly concludes) he must have been elected by the gods to rule over Sumer, despite his mean origin and alien birth. Yet Puzur-Numushda should beware—when Ishbi-Erra is master of everything he will be unmindful of those who helped him to triumph, and will not confirm them in the rule of their cities, as they expected. But the hard-pressed king had not yet abandoned hope: the god Enlil (he continues) has brought in the Amorites from their deserts, and he seems to rely also upon alliance with Elam.[5] Evidently the

[1] §1, 25, 18, n. 84; §1, 11, 3, n. 27; A, 5, 534.
[2] G, 22, 333 f.
[3] §1, 32, 177; §1, 3, 15.
[4] §1, 15, 60 ff.; G, 22, 334 f.
[5] G, 7, 49.

political situation was one of sudden change, with the friends of today becoming the foes of tomorrow. Especially surprising is it to find Ibbi-Sin, at some moment in his reign, looking for aid to an Amorite invasion, for it appears from other places in the letters that the beginning of disaster for Ur had been the breaching of the 'Amorite wall'. One extremity of this had been the 'Mountain' so described in the letter of Sharrum-bani,[1] and this key-point was defended by a stronghold called 'Fort before the Mountain'. In one of Ibbi-Sin's letters[2] there is a bitter complaint that the commander of this, named Puzur-Marduk,[3] had by cowardice or treachery abandoned it to the enemy, thus allowing them to turn the whole flank of the defences.

Neither the course of events nor the final agency of the conquest which led to the downfall of Ur can be accurately described. It was not, at least outwardly, a steady progress of decline, but an era of vicissitude. There was a year remembered for a natural disaster when 'a great flood by the will of the gods devastated the bounds of heaven and earth',[4] but Ibbi-Sin was still able to save his city from the wrath of nature as from the envy of man. Other years were tranquil, and once the king had even leisure to admire 'a huge ape which its country captured'[5] and sent to him. Upon the whole success predominated and at last seemed secure, with victories over the Amorites and the Elamites, and favourable signs from the gods in heaven, when 'for Ibbi-Sin, king of Ur, the Moon-god his beloved rose brightly',[6] and even this seemed to be outshone in a 'year (when) the god Enlil yoked the splendour of Ibbi-Sin upon the lands'[7] —a plain reference to the appearance of the Yoke-Star (Jupiter) standing in a region of the sky known as the 'way of Enlil', accompanied with other circumstances interpreted as a presage of triumph. But the downfall of an empire, which was in fact portended, required a more fatal sign; an eclipse of the moon was observed with terror by the citizens on the 14th of the month Adar,[8] 'beginning in the south and ending in the north, beginning in the first watch and ending in the last'. It bore a message to the doomed emperor, 'desolation of Ur, destruction of its walls'. Even the sign of Jupiter found its true interpreta-

[1] See above, p. 610. [2] §1, 31, 41.

[3] A letter from this man to the king, G, 7, 47, no. 208; §1, 11, 3, n. 27, but it now appears that the letter was sent to Shulgi: A, 19, 11, 18 f., no. 42.

[4] G, 23, 278, no. 21.

[5] G, 23, 278, no. 22; G, 27, 12, n. 21.

[6] G, 23, 278, no. 11. [7] *Ibid.* no. 14.

[8] But with hope by modern chronologers, §1, 52, 50 ff.; §1, 53, 89 ff.

tion, after the event, in one of the darkest passages of the astrologers' books—'if the Yoke-Star rises with its face towards the west and looks at the face of heaven and no wind blows at all, there will be famine, the ruler will meet the fate of Ibbi-Sin, king of Ur, who went in bonds to Anshan'.[1] The gods, or the star-gazers, had cruelly paltered with the people's faith.

A reference in the correspondence of Ibbi-Sin with his lieutenant, described above,[2] suggests that he may have relied at one moment upon Elamite aid against Ishbi-Erra. In this fragile alliance too were the people of the land of Subartu; for the date-formulae of Ishbi-Erra (which he was certainly issuing before the fall of Ur)[3] relate once that 'he smote the man of Subartu and Elam'.[4] The wavering passions and faithless conduct of the actors in this many-sided drama are exposed by another of the liver-models found at Mari—'when the Subarians sent unto Ishbi-Erra, but then the Subarians turned elsewhere, this (liver) was thus disposed'.[5] The situation was chaotic, every party fighting the other, but rushing desperately into short-lived leagues; Elam and Ur were equally threatened, but they had not the wisdom to combine. Meantime, the city had come into desperate straits, and famine prices were prevailing. Tablets found at Ur indicate the values of oxen, sheep, barley, dates, and oil, first in terms of each other, and then in silver, at a level of prices multiplied many times the normal for that period,[6] and still more exorbitantly above those which kings were accustomed to boast or beseech for their prosperous reigns. Despite these marks of distress the tablets detail fairly large supplies of all these commodities, and might be taken to show that Ur had not then, at least, sunk into the plight of Samaria, where 'an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver'[7] before its miraculous deliverance.

In the final catastrophe, as all the evidence agrees, it was chiefly the peoples of the east and north who turned upon Ur and sacked it with a ferocious thoroughness which was never forgotten in Babylonian tradition. The perpetrators named are the Elamites and the Subarians, to whom are added the Gutians, as the historic enemies. This national disaster was commemorated in two poetical lamentations which, amid much pathetic but prolix detail of ruin and longing for recovery, have some allusions

[1] G, 34, 236.
[2] See above, pp. 614 f.
[3] §1, 57, 43 f.; G, 7, 49 and 62; A, 28, 16 and 20.
[4] §1, 6, 9; G, 7, 49.
[5] G, 30, no. 10; G, 26, no. 43.
[6] G, 23, 247, no. 1207; cf. §1, 31, 42; §1, 51, 80; A, 34, 68.
[7] II Kings vi. 25.

to actual or believed occurrences at the time. According to these, devastation was by no means confined to Ur, but widespread over much of Sumer and Akkad. The first lament has two lists of destroyed or occupied cities,[1] the second has one,[2] very much fuller. All include many cities in the south, some in the middle of the country.[3] It may be observed that in all of them figure Isin itself and Nippur, while Kish, Kazallu, and Eshnunna also make an appearance. Since these cities were respectively the capital of Ishbi-Erra and subsequent acquisitions of his,[4] it is not possible to regard all the places named as victims of a single invasion from the east. To the authors of the laments, citizens of Ur and witnesses of the collapse of its rule together with its walls, all the cities of Sumer and Akkad were limbs of the body centred in Ur, and their disaster was one, whether inflicted by easterners or westerners—for Tidnum too is once numbered among the destroyers. But wherever else ruin descended it was in the capital that the drama centred and has left traces even until today, for the excavations have revealed abundant evidence of plunder and devastation which no later building-up was able to obliterate. Never again was Ur to play an important part in history, and Ibbi-Sin became the typical figure of an ill-starred king, remembered only for his captivity and death in a strange land.

II. THE KING AND HIS OFFICERS

The attempt made in the preceding pages to follow the fortunes of the Third Dynasty of Ur has met at every turn a tantalizing want of information due to the singular unwillingness of the age to record even the triumphs, much less the failures, of its kings. For the internal conditions of the land at this time there is, on the contrary, a wealth of documentation which is hardly less embarrassing; it is copious beyond measure, and yet is very one-sided. The 'business-documents' of this dynasty, which are ubiquitous in all collections of tablets, begin to be abundant with the expansion of conquest in the middle years of Shulgi. Visibly under the impulse of the king himself a most meticulous system of bookkeeping was instituted, and since this clerking was consigned to admirably made tablets in a fine clear style of writing, we are now in possession of ample records, from five of the main centres of

[1] §1, 37; G, 7, 50 ff.
[2] §1, 14, 377 ff.; G, 8, 189 ff.; §1, 19, 59 ff.; A, 16, 171 f.
[3] G, 7, 56.
[4] See above, p. 614.

the kingdom,[1] concerning administration of temple or royal properties, ranging in contents from digests of accounts over a period of time[2] to half-a-dozen lines registering the receipt of a goat. The impression produced by this soulless industry is that of a rigid bureaucracy, a system highly congenial to the Sumerian mind and having its roots deep in their past.[3] The 'scribe' is everywhere, busily employed in the presence of almost as many overseers and checkers, without whom not the slightest affair can be transacted.

Over these again stood greater officers, such as the managers of the temple workshops[4] or the city governors or the stewards[5] of the temples who administered the whole of their estates and activities.[6] Above all of them, at the apex of the pyramid, was the king himself. It has already been observed that his was the impulse which set in motion this formidable accounting machinery, and there is evidence that Shulgi was himself the inspirer of more efficient methods of business, for he rearranged the calendar,[7] set up a bureau of standards,[8] and issued accurate weights which were preserved and imitated to the latest days of Babylonian history.[9] Far more than this, the king was the principal contributor to the wealth and offerings of the temples, the head to whom all officials owed their appointments, and he is individually acknowledged as master of all these underlings upon their seals, a few of which are engraved with the image of the king upon the seat and in the attitude of a god, making a presentation of an office and a special mark of favour to the owner of the seal, which itself bears a statement that it was conferred by the king.[10]

A superior rank among his servants was held by the governors of provinces and cities, with the titles of *šakkana* or *ensi*,[11] and it is in their position that we may best understand the assumption of divinity by the kings of the Third Dynasty. There is some reason to believe that the revival at this period of the old Sumerian ideas was strict (in reaction against the Gutian oppression), and one of the most deep-seated of these had been the representation of the city-god in earthly affairs by his agent, the *ensi*. In the older centuries of the Sumerian states interference by the *lugal*, even in such important matters as the personality of the governor,

[1] §I, 34, Introd., ix.
[2] *Ibid.* 239 ff.; §II, 9, 16 ff.
[3] §II, 13; §II, 14; §II, 15.
[4] §I, 48, 166 ff.
[5] §II, 23, 122 ff.
[6] §II, 10.
[7] §I, 57, 17 ff.
[8] G, 23, no. 179.
[9] §VI, 7, no. 118; §II, 18, 181, n. 11.
[10] G, 13, 146; G, 14, pl. 54A; §II, 19, 119 f.; §I, 30, lists of seal-inscriptions. See Plate 51 (*b*).
[11] §I, 25, 8.

seems to have been limited, he being content with formal acknowledgement and possibly some payment of tribute and service.[1] But the formation of a great empire by the kings of Agade had put an end to this easy condition, and the constant unrest of the Sumerian cities under their rule had obliged them to take care that only men well-affected towards themselves were placed in positions of control there. The king had thus openly assumed the function of a god, and a god he must become.[2] In the dynasty of Agade this need must already have been sensible, and no doubt the vast accession of power and width of sway won by such a mighty figure as Naram-Sin helped to make him appear superhuman.

In the Third Dynasty of Ur this assumption of divinity coincided similarly with the great expansion in the middle years of Shulgi.[3] Vainglory and popular superstition supported it, but it may also have been deemed a necessary measure of policy to justify the otherwise inadmissible appointment of an earthly governor by another human. There is, indeed, one example of a governor (*ensi*) who was himself deified,[4] presumably upon the sole account of his achievements, but this must be regarded as anomalous and perhaps merely a piece of flattery. These new-minted gods caused to be set aside or built for them their own temple in each city,[5] receiving the daily provision and special allowances for their images. Thus they lived among their people and upon their own estates and set their own stewards to manage their properties; in short, they fulfilled the strictest ideas of human life and divine government. As there could not well be two masters in a house, it may be supposed that they often tended to dispossess the older patron-deities of their privileges; it has been noticed above that a city governor is found to have taken the king's name to the exclusion of the old god of his city,[6] and to have been ready to lay it aside when the power of Ur was visibly doomed.

The other side to this conception of the royal office was the necessity of doing right, of 'shepherding' the people under their charge,[7] or committed to the rule of an agent with a like responsibility. At the outset of this period is found the beginning of legal regulation in Babylonia.[8] What the state of formal justice was under the old Sumerian rulers of the Early Dynastic age we have little ability to judge. But the language and proceedings of Urukagina certainly suggest that the *ensi* of that time was

[1] See above, pp. 103 f.
[2] §11, 4; §11, 5; §11, 6.
[3] §1, 29, 60 ff.
[4] §11, 20, 17 ff.
[5] §11, 7, 2; G, 15, 18 f., no. 81; §11, 24, 257 ff.; A, 34, 56 ff.
[6] See above, p. 614.
[7] §11, 8, 41 ff.
[8] See above, p. 598.

regarded as so entirely the god's representative that justice was administered by him under his 'contract' with the god, and thus depended upon his own sense of propriety and his own integrity alone,[1] so that he could, like Urukagina, quite alter custom and rule, if it seemed to him unjust, and would have the full authority of the god to do so. But now, again, the king had become in an effective measure the local god of each city and found himself thereby obliged to let his will be known in more precise terms, which would apply to an area far wider than one city. Few Sumerian laws survive which are or may be of Third Dynasty date,[2] but it is significant that, in the closely sequent period, compiling of 'codes' of law was undertaken by several kings, that of Hammurabi being not unique, but only the first known and the best preserved. This widespread activity does no more than create a supposition that the ideas of fixed law and regular justice were realized in the preceding dynasty, but there is much more positive evidence. Among the multifarious tablets of administration more than 150, mostly from Lagash, form a special class[3] concerned with proceedings and decisions of the law-courts in cases of family transactions, debts, purchases, and criminal offences. These proceedings were heard occasionally before the king himself, but more often by city-governors or members of an order of judges, many of whom, residents in Lagash, are named in the tablets.

III. ECONOMY AND WEALTH

To give any sufficient description of the economic system over which the king thus reigned supreme is hardly yet possible, in spite of the superabundant material of one kind offered by the business documents—and indeed also because of this super-abundance. For although very large numbers of these tablets have been published[4] perhaps as many more are known to be extant, and to resolve their endless details into a comprehensive picture of the whole society is a task which only the future and perhaps the application of techniques now evolving can expect to master. How these records were kept is partly revealed by clay dockets attached to the boxes or jars which contained various

[1] §VII, 3, 100 ff.
[2] See above, p. 598; §I, 39; §II, 16, 101 ff.; §II, 2, 11 ff.; §II, 17.
[3] §II, 3, erster Teil, 147 ff.; §II, 12.
[4] §III, 17, 215 ff.; §I, 34, Introd., viii f.

classes.[1] Upon these labels were inscribed the container to which they belonged, the kind of records which it contained, and the date-formula; from the second entry it is possible to summarize the principal orders of accounts which were kept. The simplest were the single lists or mere notes of commodities received and issued. These details were digested and summarized and a kind of balance struck in the larger tablets called 'reckonings',[2] which totalled the receipts and outlays over periods of time.[3]

The two other principal classes of documents, according to the container-tickets, and according to the surviving material, were the offering lists, detailing the food and treasures offered to the gods upon ordinary and special days;[4] these tablets yield incidentally much information about the divine 'inhabitants' of the temples, their daily life and service, the religious calendar of the months and years,[5] even the topography and furnishings of the various buildings in which the cult was performed. Most interesting of all, perhaps, are the tablets called 'inspections' which survey the stocks, personnel, output, expenses, and work in hand of the large workshops[6] which were maintained by the temples to supply their own needs and probably to furnish a quotum to the court,[7] even perhaps to sell in the market, but there is little evidence about the disposal of the produce. Wool,[8] dates,[9] and onions[10] seem also to have been distributed in part under a like system. It may be supposed that the surplus produce of the temple estates and manufactories was also put on sale in this way to private consumers.

It has already been said that the abundant evidence of business activity in this period is mostly confined to the temple economy, which covered so many undertakings that it may be considered as no inadequate index of the general economy of the land. But it has the disadvantage that no reliable notion is given of the extent and importance of private property. Just as before, in the old Sumerian period, the accident of the preponderance of one kind of record only has perhaps distorted our view of the affairs and even the polity of that time,[11] so the Third Dynasty appears in its business documents as too exclusively a world of officials[12]

[1] §III, 5; §III, 21; §II, 3, erster Teil, 17.
[2] §I, 34, 239 ff.; §II, 9.
[3] §III, 1, 108 ff.
[4] §III, 4.
[5] §II, 10, 527.
[6] G, 23, no. 1498; §I, 48, 166 ff.
[7] §II, 10, 529.
[8] §II, 3, zweiter Teil, 12; §I, 48, 80 and 100; §III, 1, 110.
[9] §I, 48, 102; §III, 1, 109 f.
[10] §III, 1, 124 f.; A, 12.
[11] See above, pp. 130 f.
[12] §I, 34, 291.

and serfs,[1] between whom the private citizen is scarcely visible. Yet among the endless lists there appear 'contracts',[2] using already the form and many of the clauses found in the more numerous deeds of the succeeding age, and letter-requisitions[3] (but these are probably official). A book of legal phrases, in Sumerian and Akkadian,[4] which in its extant version belongs mostly to the succeeding period, yet takes some of its formulae out of clauses already exemplified in the private deeds of the Ur dynasty. From both of these sources it may be learnt that property in slaves and houses was bought, sold, and exchanged, though most land, perhaps, belonged to temples and certainly most of the accounts concerning it, including surveys of estates, are records of its cultivation and produce for the profit of these corporations.[5] Borrowing of commodities is also a prominent article in these documents, and there is no proof that the borrowing was always from the temple stores. Among the objects of dealing in this form were cattle, birds, metals, bricks, reeds, and especially wool, an item in the life of the land hardly less important than cereals. Grain, dates, and silver were loaned at interest, the time of due repayment, often after the harvest, being specified, guarantees of payment given, penalties fixed for non-fulfilment, an oath required by the life of the king, and the deed was concluded with names of witnesses and notary and the official date. Such tablets were produced as proof in the courts of law.[6] From this description it will be clear that the general form of the Old Babylonian 'contracts' had already been moulded in the preceding age.

A factor in the economy of the Third Dynasty which cannot be overlooked because it is so prominent in the account-tablets was the raising of large and small cattle, and the great numbers of these which were maintained prove in their turn the fertility of the soil and the abundance of the grain-crops. Apart from a religious text glorifying the Moon-god of Ur,[7] which professes to reckon the number of his cows only in multiples of 36,000, there is the more factual evidence of the constant motion of flocks and herds in and out of a central cattle-park, 'The House of Puzrish-Dagan',[8] near Nippur, at the site now called Drehem.[9] Lists register, similarly, the quantities of barley and bran fed to animals upon a sheep-run near Lagash;[10] it appears that in one

[1] §II, 3, erster Teil, 95 f.; §III, 9.
[2] §II, 3, dritter Teil, 32.
[3] §III, 15, 98; A, 33.
[4] §II, 16, Einleitung, ii f.
[5] §I, 34, 272.
[6] §II, 3, erster Teil, 121 ff.
[7] A, 11, 1, no. 68; §III, 22, 15 ff.; A, 19, 13, no. 7.
[8] For this name see §I, 26, 34.
[9] §I, 34, 212 ff.
[10] §I·1, 20.

month there was maintained a stock of over 22,000 sheep, nearly a thousand cows, and still more of other meat cattle; in three months fodder was provided for over 50,000 sheep and 1500 oxen, and this was but one of many such stations. If anything like a comprehensive figure could be reckoned for the whole country it would, on this proportion, be massive.[1] Another necessity which employed a great many hands was the grinding of the grain crops; this was largely a female occupation but in some places women were outnumbered by men, and always helped by children. A typical account of one mill[2] which employed about forty hands gives a register of the names of all workers, the kind of work they were doing, and their output, and it shows that their wage accounts were made up daily, these wages being in kind, consisting of the primary articles of diet, barley, beer, and oil, some of which it was permissible to forego in one kind so as to have more of another.[3]

Wool working was the other principal occupation of women and girls,[4] though again not to the exclusion of men. The kinds of wool used, the operations performed, the colouring, and the cloths manufactured and made into garments give rise to a wealth of technical terms which can hardly be interpreted in detail. The wool-workers and tailors were, in the capital at least, but one department of a great manufactory, of which we possess comprehensive surveys. One such establishment comprised no less than eight workshops;[5] apart from the clothiers there were (1) carpenters and joiners who turned out furniture[6] (tables, chairs, boxes, shrines, and cabinets) as well as constructional work, (2) carvers of wood and ivory, who decorated this furniture with inlaid work, and made small figures, (3) smiths,[7] of precious and base metals, with whose work was closely associated that of (4) the jewellers,[8] who produced all kinds of little figures and ornaments and often enriched with gold mounts the beads and other miniature products of (5) the cutters and engravers of gems and semi-precious stones. The last two shops were occupied by (6) the leather workers[9] and (7) those who used reeds[10] and bitumen for making mats[11] and baskets and for waterproofing the seams of boats.[12]

[1] §III, 16, 218.
[2] §III, 19.
[3] I. J. Gelb in *J.N.E.S.* 24, 230 ff.
[4] G, 23, no. 1554; §III, 2.
[5] G, 23, no. 1498; §I, 48, 166 ff.
[6] §VI, 8, 187.
[7] §III, 6; §I, 48, 170 ff.
[8] §I, 48, 140 ff.
[9] §III, nos. 7, 10, 11 and 12; §III, 14.
[10] §III, 8.
[11] §III, 13.
[12] *Ibid.*; §III, 18, 146 ff.

IV. FOREIGNERS FROM THE EAST

The foregoing sketch of the economy which reigned in southern Babylonia under the Third Dynasty of Ur gives a measure of the contrast between its wealth and the primitive condition of its neighbours. Babylonian caravans and ships had travelled near and far in search of the primary resources needed to support this complex civilization, and had brought back as associates or slaves inhabitants of the foreign lands, some of whom remained to make a career or at least a living for themselves in the empire, while others returned to inflame their ruder countrymen with tales of the riches to be plundered if ever the strong man armed grew weak. Even while guard was fully maintained the population of Babylonia was unequally affected by peaceful immigration of foreigners from the two directions, north-east and north-west, which had never ceased to pour their bolder spirits into the wealthy plain, favoured by the lack of natural boundaries to keep them out. This inflow was no doubt continuous and mostly unnoticed, producing a turmoil only when it became too violent.

In this period the accession from the eastern frontier is noticeable chiefly in the names of a people, using neither the Sumerian nor the Akkadian language, who, whatever they may have called themselves, are now most often known as Hurrians, a name certainly used by themselves afterwards in their own documents; they were the 'Horites' of the Old Testament.[1] This people was to form, in later centuries, a distinct and powerful nation under their own kings, but for a long time after their first appearance they are found only as individuals. That first appearance may be placed under the Dynasty of Agade, when a few names more or less certainly identified with this people are borne by local rulers, some said to have been conquered by Naram-Sin.[2] The geographical position of their kingdoms (Karakhar, Markhashe, Simurrum, Tukrish, to which other names can be added subsequently—Shashrum, Simanum, Urbilum), although only a few of these have been definitely located,[3] was in most cases within that area which was the persistent enemy of the kings of Ur, bounded by the Tigris, the Diyālā, and the mountains to the east. Only Urkish, a place prominently identified with the Hurrians by their

[1] §IV, 2, 51 and 69; see also *C.A.H.* II[3], ch. 1, §IV.

[2] §IV, 2, 55; see above, p. 444.

[3] See above, p. 601; A, 22, 24.

two most ancient surviving monuments,[1] has been sought as far west as the tributaries of the Khabur.

Continual hostilities did not prevent inhabitants of these lands beyond the Tigris from moving more and more frequently into Babylonia, so that in the tablets of the Third Dynasty is found a quotum of Hurrian names, most of them, it is true, still dwelling in their home-lands east of the Tigris, where men of this stock are mentioned as governors of cities. But in Babylonia itself there is a sprinkling of these names, some borne even by minor officials who soon showed the thoroughness of their assimilation by giving, in certain instances, Akkadian names to their sons.[2] If these foreigners cannot be said to have introduced a serious or disturbing factor into the life of Babylonia, even less noticeable was the admixture of another eastern race, the people called *Su*, the Shubaru or Subarians.[3] These tribesmen, against whom one of the campaigns of Sargon had been directed,[4] were also originally inhabitants of a district east of the Tigris, but seem to have spread themselves widely at an early period over North Mesopotamia, whither the Hurrians were to follow them in the years after the end of the Third Dynasty. Indeed, these two peoples were so alike in origin and destiny that their difference has been argued mainly upon dissimilarity of names.[5] There was little difference in the status of their immigrants, who came for the most part as menials or even slaves, occasionally made their way upwards in the society which adopted them, and in either case sank unperceived into the mass.

V. THE AMORITE INVASION

Far different was the effect of a much more weighty migration from the north-west, bringing in those forces which were to aid in subverting the kingdom of Ibbi-Sin and, after a second conflict, to expel the Elamites and set up new kingdoms with most of the old traditions in the Babylonian homeland. In the reign of Shu-Sin began an inflow of those western Semites who were called *martu* or *amurrū*, Amorites, propelled down the valley

[1] §IV, 10; §IV, 8; §IV, 4; A, 25.; see above, p. 565. See Plate 50(*b*), (*c*).
[2] §IV, 2, 60. [3] *Ibid.* 108.
[4] *Ibid.* 34 f.; see above, p. 430 f.
[5] A copious discussion upon the origin, individuality, and components of Hurrians and Subarians has not produced a conclusive result: recent contributions are §IV, 9; §IV, 3; §IV, 1; §I, 11, 16 ff.

of the Euphrates by indefinable forces. Neither the name nor, essentially, the people were new; as well as the occurrence of individuals in the older tablets,[1] references to their barbarous character were put even into stories about Lugalbanda and Enmerkar, old kings of legend in the First Dynasty of Uruk,[2] but these are perhaps anachronous. Equally uncertain is a 'Khuwaruwash king of Amurri' in a Hittite version of the revolt of seventeen kings against Naram-Sin.[3] As a menace to Babylonia they first appear in the reign of Shar-kali-sharri, who defeated them at Basar,[4] when the double threat from east and west was hanging over him, as later over Ibbi-Sin. Little more is heard of this people until the reign of Shu-Sin, when they came in force upon the north-western quarter of Babylonia and not only compelled the withdrawal of the power of Ur from whatever it held in Syria but could be checked from actual invasion only by the desperate expedient of building the 'Western Wall'.

These intruders were regarded with distaste by the native Babylonians, who looked upon them as barbarians, had many scornful things to say about their manner of life, and even regarded their territorial god Amurru as a crude nomad who had not so much as a house when he came towards the civilized districts and had to be provided with a decent establishment and a wife before he could be admitted to the divine society.[5] Yet this hostility was almost more of a class than of a national feeling; these Semites were not of the same tribes nor even of the same language among themselves, and none of them were utterly alien to the society of the great southern cities, which already contained as ordinary citizens a large admixture of Semitic immigrants, who differed from the newcomers only in being assimilated to the predominantly Sumerian civilization. Infiltration from the Syrian steppe to the alluvium was, in truth, an unceasing process, which caused no alarm, and even had its advantages, when it was gradual. But when circumstances, always invisible to us, quickened this flow, as at the times of the Akkadian and afterwards the Amorite invasion, the immigrants seized power by their very weight and provoked an indignant reaction which took on the unreal appearance of a national resistance. In turn these strangers themselves were assimilated and though they modified they never

[1] §v, 3, 150.
[2] See above, p. 100; §v, 3, 159 f.; G, 7, 31 f.; A, 1, 330 ff.
[3] §1, 27, zweiter Teil, 68 f., line 12.
[4] See above, p. 455; §v, 3, 149 f.; G, 7, 35; A, 1, 236 f.
[5] §v, 4, 74 f.; G, 7, 32 f.; §II, 8, 6; see above, pp. 563 f.; A, 1, 90 f.

could have transformed the society which had striven to reject them. It was possible to speak of driving out Gutians, but after a comparatively few years who could have found the Akkadians or the Amorites, to cast these out from the land where they had ceased to be distinguishable?

The Amorite invasion evidently had all of these characteristics; there is no doubt that 'Amorites', that is, men of Syrian origin, were always entering Akkad and Sumer between the days of Shar-kali-sharri and of Shu-Sin. These are not always distinguishable in written records, for they bore (or assumed) names common to the land where they came to sojourn.[1] On entering the country they were recruited as soldiers or as a menial class of 'coolies',[2] some having been brought in as slaves, and it is these, no doubt, who are sometimes shown upon monuments wearing a peculiar short dress and occupied in lowly tasks.[3] 'Amorite' was indeed a designation signifying 'workman' (a term which in Babylonian ideas applied to both civil and military duties),[4] and their work was done in groups under their own officers,[5] with ranks such as 'general', 'chief', 'lieutenant', 'overseer', 'scribe', the functions of which are barely definable. Though all (when distinguished particularly) were called *martu* or Amorites it is possible to trace earlier and later waves of these Syrians coming into the south country. The earlier, beginning under the Third Dynasty of Ur, is marked by a set of names characterized by the ending *-ānum*;[6] a later, which followed after the rise of Ishbi-Erra, had names of a very distinctive cast, which are the earliest representatives of what is now called the West-Semitic dialect. Despite the extraordinary limitation of a material confined to a mere set of names,[7] with no other literature, it is beyond doubt that a real difference was found between the language of these newcomers and those both of the Semitic-speaking Babylonians and of previous western immigrants. The clearest indication is the verbal form of the third person which began with *ia-*, whereas Akkadian used the form beginning with *i-*.[8] In addition the West-Semitic names contain both ordinary words and special divinities which were unknown to Akkadian and peculiar to the language (that is, the names) of this people.[9]

With this criterion it is possible to discern that the forces

[1] §v, 3, 153 f. [2] *Ibid.* 195; G, 7, 38. [3] G, 32, 142; A, 1, 344 f.
[4] G, 3, vol. xvi, 54*b*; A, 1, 339 ff., 356 f. [5] §v, 3, 185 ff.; G, 7, 37.
[6] §v, 5; §v, 3, 154 f.; G, 7, 41 f.; A, 1, 213, 224 f.
[7] §v, 1, 5 ff.; A, 14; §v, 2, 47.
[8] See above, p. 564; A, 1, 195 f., 218. [9] §v, 1, 3 ff.; G, 7, 39 ff.

which contributed to the overthrow of Ur were somewhat in advance of the tribes with West-Semitic speech. The kings of Isin bore Akkadian names, but the founder of the kingdom at Larsa was Naplanum,[1] whose name was of the older 'Amorite' style first found under the Dynasty of Ur. West-Semitic names come into Larsa with the later kings Abisarē and Sumuel,[2] then, with the establishment of a third parallel dynasty at Babylon, about the same time as these, West-Semitic names appear at once in the royal family and become common in the documents of private business. The evidence, given its limitations, is thus fairly clear; at a point of time before half-way through the dynasties of Isin and Larsa a new wave of Syrian invaders, with a characteristic dialect, appeared in southern Babylonia where, although unable to subvert the established if inglorious kings who nominally divided the land, they conquered several cities and finally set up, at a place almost unknown before, a third kingdom which was eventually to devour the survivor of the other two. At about the same time men of this stock were found ruling in Kish and Sippar, in the neighbouring land east of the Tigris, and up the Euphrates at least as far as Mari.

VI. CHANGE IN ART

The long-sustained infiltration, sometimes the inrush, of foreign elements and the resultant change in the population is clearly marked for us by its effect upon the representational arts of the country. The period of the Third Dynasty of Ur and of the succeeding, mainly Amorite, kingdoms is still not very well supplied with surviving artistic productions, even after the more recent discoveries both in the capital city and at certain outlying places such as Mari and Eshnunna. It is now evident that stone sculptures continued to be produced in all the principal centres at a high level of technical ability, both in relief and in the round, though our evidence suggests that the latter was the more in favour. The most important monument executed in relief was the great stele of Ur-Nammu at Ur.[3] This work appears to have been, when complete, a vividly descriptive presentation of all the episodes attending that king's building of the Moon-god's temple at Ur, of which imposing remains are still to be seen. Both the

[1] §v, 3, 155 f.; A, 1, 319 f. [2] G, 7, 108 f.; A, 1, 360 f.

[3] G, 14, 51 and pl. 53; §vi, 7, 285, no. 306; §vi, 1, vol. II, 774 ff. See Plate 49(*b*).

religious preliminaries and the actual operations were depicted in detail, so that the whole, had it survived, would have been the best illustration we could have of contemporary life.

The most striking difference it shows from the style of the Early Dynastic and Agade periods is in the costume of the principal figures. This dress first comes to notice in the statues of Gudea; it is a wide shawl, with fringed edges, draped round the body and thrown over the left shoulder (leaving the right arm and shoulder bare), with one of the corners tucked into the first fold of the garment and another edge of the shawl supported over the left arm. The material seems to be of smooth texture and is sharply distinguished from the shaggy fleece-like robe worn by the earlier Sumerian figures—this is now reserved for gods.[1] No longer is there, in the figures of this time, the preponderance of shaven heads which marks the style of the earlier ages. Again it is the heads of Gudea which lead the change of fashion; one, perhaps two,[2] of these are still shaven, but the rest wear a kind of turban with an exaggeratedly thick band made of some fabric which displays symmetrical tufts or curls. The same form of head-dress continues in the Ur and Amorite dynasties as a close fitting cap with a less bulky bandage; in the case of a bronze figure from Mari[3] this cap is garnished with horns to mark the 'divine' nature of the wearer.

Another difference in the sculpture is the apparent preference for harder stones. Once more the change comes in with the statues of Gudea. It was made possible by an increasing access to, or at least exploitation of, foreign supplies, such as Gudea describes.[4] Something may be due also to improved methods of stone-working, but of this there is no clear evidence. The statues themselves are undoubtedly much better rendered, and beginning from the Gudea figures the level remains generally high. Among the Gudeas there are indeed some markedly inferior, especially in the fault of a squat appearance, a lack of proportion being accentuated by shortness or even absence of the neck. Under the Amorite dynasties the costume remains much as it was under the kings of Ur, save that there is an increasing tendency to decoration; the robe is more richly ornamented, and the beards are fancifully dressed. These characteristics are particularly noticed upon examples of the more provincial art which come from Ashur,[5] Mari,[6] or Eshnunna.[7] Two beautiful little female heads

[1] E.g. §VI, 6, pls. 119–23, 132; A, 34, 9 f.
[2] §VI, 5, 168 f., pls. XVI, XVIII.
[3] §VI, 4; §I, 9, 164 f.; §VI, 9, 74 f.
[4] See above, p. 460.
[5] §VI, 9, 52 f. and 57 f.
[6] §VI, 6, pls. 108 f.
[7] §VI, 9, 72 ff. See Plate 51 (*a*).

found at Ur[1] give an indication of what the capital made and might have yielded if the Elamite sack had not been so thorough.

A still more notable change was in the style of the cylinder-seals which, in fact, underwent two alterations within the periods of Ur and of the Amorites. The first was the more complete, for it meant turning away entirely from the highly varied, closely packed, narrative themes of the Agade period and reducing the device almost to a bare uniformity of subject. This produced the familiar 'introduction scene', in which three figures only are essential, and occasionally there are less.[2] It can hardly be doubted that the centralizing effort of royal policy brought about the imposition of this style. Most of the surviving seals and impressions are those of officials in various ranks, with whom the expression of individual piety, or interest in the scene, gave place to the need for an act of homage to the king or the local governor, that is, the inscription became paramount. In a few of the Third Dynasty seals the royal prescription of the device is peculiarly apparent; these examples actually portray the king in the dress and attitude of the gods (except perhaps for the horns) seated on the throne in the god's usual place, and receiving, like him, the owner of the seal, sometimes with his advocate. The monarch tenders to his worshipper a small vial, and the inscription declares that the king 'has presented to him' (this seal), no doubt along with his office, a prerogative which, in certain cases, he seemed to have usurped from the god himself.[3]

The second change began to come into the seals under the dynasties of Isin and Larsa, but was not in full vigour until about the middle of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The 'introduction scene' continued to be the common device and the individuality to depend mainly upon the inscription, but most often now the god was standing, not seated, and there is a preponderance of western weather-gods, Amurru or Adad.[4] The escorting deity now hardly ever takes the owner by the hand, but is generally a goddess and stands beside the owner, holding up hands in prayer for him. Yet whatever the fresh elements of the population may have been able to effect in altering certain styles of art, the remarkable absorptive power of the old Sumerian civilization was still impressively demonstrated. Barbarian leaders began almost instantly to play the traditional part of kings, to adopt language,

[1] G, 35, vol. VI, pl. LXII; §VI, 2, 39 and pl. XX*d*; together in G, 32, pl. X; §VI, 12, pl. 24; §VI, 1, vol. II, 782 ff.

[2] G, 13, 146 ff. For two later manifestations see §VI, 11, 18 and §VI, 3, 85.

[3] §II, 19; §II, 22; §I, 30, 39 f. See Plate 51(*b*). [4] §V, 4, 12 f. and 54 f.

expression, and modes of thinking accepted from their Sumerian predecessors, while the subjects, though they introduced no small changes in the social and economic structure of the country, adopted with equal rapidity and thoroughness a city life under gods and kings, conformed with the general pattern of their physical and cultural environment, and produced articles of use, devotion, and luxury little different in their various kinds from the traditional types. It cannot be observed that any new art was invented or any old one discarded by the Amorite kingdoms, if compared with the Early Dynastic cities of Sumer. Indeed, in a few details such as the reintroduction of clay cones[1] and bronze figures[2] as bearers of foundation records, this age went back to the customs of its remoter forerunners.

VII. SUCCESSORS OF THE UR DYNASTY

After the few stirring years when Ishbi-Erra was engaged in war and intrigue against the last king of Ur, and then in a struggle with his Elamite associates[3] from whom he finally wrested the devastated city,[4] his reign, of thirty-three years in all, was devoted to the defence of his capital[5] and his territories[6] by the building of fortifications, to the discharge of his religious functions as king, and to the forming of widespread commercial relations—with cities of the Upper Euphrates, the eastern lands of Karakhar and Simurrum (old enemies of the Third Dynasty),[7] and even with overseas Tilmun.[8] He had no scruple (though he had several competitors) in assuming, while the empire of Ur yet subsisted, the divine designation[9] and also the title of universal dominion,[10] and he plainly regarded himself and his city of Isin as the legitimate successors of Ur in the old Sumerian tradition of struggle for the 'kingship'. Accordingly, it is this dynasty which concludes the Sumerian king-list, and the obvious attention given to its compilation at this time, bringing down the tale of succession from 'the Flood' to the present, evinces the ambition of Isin[11] to claim a supremacy as of right amid circumstances which were far from assenting to it.

[1] §1, 40. [2] §VI, 10. See Plate 51 (*c*).
[3] §1, 6, 9 (10*b*, 11*a*); G, 7, 62.
[4] §1, 6, 14 f. (20*b*, 21), also p. 18(E); G, 7, 63.
[5] §1, 6, 16. [6] §1, 6, 8 f. and 11; G, 7, 62 f. [7] See above, p. 601.
[8] G, 7, 64. [9] §1, 29, 63. [10] G, 7, 60.
[11] §VII, 11, 46.

Even while Ishbi-Erra was struggling to free himself from the failing grasp of Ur, similar local potentates, former vassals of the empire or newcomers, were active in setting up 'kingdoms' for themselves in their own cities and as much of the neighbouring territories as they could control. Almost at the same time as Ishbi-Erra[1] arose a parallel founder of a dynasty at Larsa, one Naplanum, of whom nothing more is known than what can be inferred from the form of his name[2]—he was the first of the immigrant Amorites to make himself a ruler in Babylonia. East of the Tigris, and thus farther removed from the old seat of power, rulers at Eshnunna[3] and also at Dēr,[4] not far away, set themselves up as 'gods', as royal benefactors, as independent rulers, and even as conquerors.[5] In the following generations appeared yet others, including that which was finally to absorb them all—a veritable 'heptarchy' (if the number be taken no more strictly in Old Babylonian than in Old English history), more or less flourishing within limits much narrower than the recent dominions of Ur, and little exceeding the old homeland of Sumer and Akkad.

Amid this growing confusion the parallel dynasties of Isin and Larsa settled down as best they could to divide a limited realm which they ruled long but uneventfully. That they could thus subsist for about two centuries less than a hundred miles apart without more than occasional jars simply proves their weakness. Nearly all that is known of these obscure kings has to be gathered from date-formulae of their years, incompletely preserved and sometimes lacking a fixed arrangement. Their few inscriptions are limited to building-records,[6] and in later tradition there is nothing but a slight anecdote concerning the succession of a 'gardener' Enlil-bani, to his master Erra-imitti on the throne of Isin.[7] Even the date-formulae mostly concern religious occasions, thus leaving their age one of the dimmest in Babylonian history. But it is hardly probable that more evidence would have much to reveal about the unenterprising figures who occupied the twin thrones of Isin and Larsa for so many years. Each of the cities could boast one ruler of some distinction, but their achievements were different and although their reigns partly coincided, neither city challenged the other.

[1] §VII, 12; G, 7, 21; L. Matouš in *Arch. Or.* 20, 295.
[2] §V, 5, 237; A, 1, 371. [3] G, 7, 66 f.
[4] *Ibid.* 68 f., with n. 327; A, 33, p. 107.
[5] *Ibid.* 73; see below, p. 661.
[6] Listed in G, 7, 187; §VII, 8. [7] §1, 36, vol. II, 12 and 15; G, 7, 140 f.

A recently-published Sumerian text[1] has revealed an important incident in the broils of cities during these rather uneventful years. The city of Larsa was attacked and reduced to great straits (described in very conventional language) by an uncertain enemy, perhaps the Babylonians. The inscription was set up by King Sin-iddinam, the sixth king of Larsa, to accompany a silver statue of his father Nur-Adad, which, according to the ideas of the times, was to address the Sun-god in the terms of the inscription. Nur-Adad, to whom the tablet ascribes a special election by the Sun-god, waged a victorious campaign by means of which he restored the water-supply of Larsa and overcame the enemy. Sin-idinnam claims for himself the rule over Ur, Larsa, Eridu, and Lagash.

At Larsa it was Gungunum, the fifth king, who in a reign of twenty-seven years won a certain meed of military glory. His arms were directed against the eastern boundary-lands; in the king's third year is recorded the devastation of Bashimi, a city belonging to the Elamite king, and in the fifth year an attack was pressed home into Anshan itself. The land was overrun and, though no more than the bare event is recorded in the date-formulae, some further details are perhaps to be gathered from an inscription of Anum-muttabil, governor of Dēr,[2] who claimed to have smitten the heads of Anshan, Elam, Simashki, and to have conquered Warakhshe: but it is uncertain whether these two rulers were contemporaries, and thus whether the date-formula and the inscription relate to the same campaign.[3] It is significant that about this time the long line of kings who had lorded over Elam from the city of Simashki came to an end, the last of his line being Indattu II.

After this success early in his reign Gungunum devoted himself to peaceful works until his nineteenth year, when in circumstances unknown he defeated the army of Malgium, a place on the Elamite border,[4] built relay-houses along his roads, as the great Shulgi had done before him,[5] and set in order the waterways of his realm.[6] An event of importance in his reign was the transfer of Ur into his authority from that of Isin. This is, strangely, not recorded in any date-formula, and has been revealed only by inscriptions found at Ur; why the transfer was made, and

[1] A, 3.
[2] G, 33, 176 f.; see, for this and the following, below, p. 661, and §VIII, 3, 65.
[3] §VII, 12, 305; but also G, 7, 73, n. 350.
[4] Unlocated, but see §VII, 6, 94 f.
[5] See above, p.606 with n. 7.
[6] G, 7, 112 f.

by what process, warlike or peaceful, is unknown. An ancient and especially sacred institution at Ur was the office of high-priestess to the Moon-god,[1] which was always held by daughters or sisters of reigning monarchs. Ishme-Dagan, fourth king of Isin, had accordingly dedicated his own daughter,[2] who took the sacerdotal name of Enannatum, after a pattern prescribed by custom. In several inscriptions this lady calls herself only 'child of Ishme-Dagan, king of Sumer and Akkad', but in three she invokes blessings upon the life of 'Gungunum, mighty man, king of Ur',[3] whereby it appears not only that Gungunum had taken over the charge of Ur from the king of Isin, but that he had, out of scruple or perhaps by agreement, allowed the daughter and nominee of the former masters of the city to remain undisturbed, in return for an overt expression of her homage.[4] This transfer, unexplained and only indirectly attested, took place under Lipit-Ishtar, himself the most considerable figure of his line after its founder.

The glory of Lipit-Ishtar sprang from a work of peace notable rather for what still remains of it than for any unique quality it had in its own age. In a date-formula at the outset of his reign, and in various inscriptions,[5] he refers with pride to his having 'made righteousness' in Sumer and Akkad. The phrase employed, both Sumerian and Akkadian, became almost a hall-mark of the Old Babylonian kings from Ishme-Dagan of Isin downwards, and was often embroidered with other phrases announcing in high but vague terms the reforms and justice which the ruler had bestowed upon his land[6]—the tradition of these goes back to the beginning of the Third Dynasty and even, in the earlier period, to Urukagina.[7] There is ample evidence to prove that the immediate significance of the phrase was a cancellation of charges upon certain classes or individuals arising out of social conditions or out of specific contracts; a typical example is the clause in a later enactment (of the Babylonian king Ammiṣaduqa) decreeing that all inhabitants of certain cities and lands in the king's dominions who had been compelled by debt to sell themselves or their families into slavery should be forthwith released and restored to freedom,[8] 'since the king has made righteousness for the land'. Either in connexion with such proclamations or later in their

[1] See above, p. 435.
[2] §1, 57, 42; G, 7, 76, n. 372.
[3] G, 33, 206 f.; G, 15, no. 297; A, 32, no. 64.
[4] §VII, 4.
[5] G, 7, 93 f.; §VII, 9, 114.
[6] §1, 16, 78 ff.; §II, 11, 196 ff.; G, 7, 80 ff.; A, 8.
[7] See above, pp. 140 ff.
[8] §II, 11, 40 f. sect. 18'.

reigns[1] a number of kings issued 'codes' of laws, as best exemplified in the celebrated 'Code of Hammurabi', generally garnished with a prologue and an epilogue setting forth the king's services to the gods and to men, and embodying those rules and principles of conduct which he ordered to be observed and was prepared to enforce. These were by no means always changes, for much of each 'code' appears in the others, so far as their preservation allows of a judgement, but they aimed to demonstrate their authors' attachment to justice, as opinion at the time conceived it.

Some later material bearing upon the 'righteousness' (*mēšarum*) decreed by kings has now been obtained; there is a new edict of King Samsuiluna of Babylon and discussions by J. J. Finkelstein and J. Klíma.[2] The laws of Lipit-Ishtar have also received a probable accession.[3]

The laws of Lipit-Ishtar, so far as they are preserved,[4] are written in Sumerian; it is possible that an Akkadian version was also published. The existing provisions, all from the latter part of the document, treat a variety of civil causes—hire of boats, care of orchards, regulations concerning slaves, possession of a house, family laws concerning marriage and inheritance, nearly all of which have more or less close analogies with the better-known laws of Hammurabi, nearly a century and a half later in date. Even more markedly is this the case with the laws of Eshnunna,[5] large extracts of which have recently been recovered; it has been reckoned that the substance of about three-quarters of these reappears in the Hammurabi 'Code', and the rest are concerned with similar subjects.[6] The date of these laws, which are written in Akkadian, is not certain—the extant copies seem to be of about the time of Dadusha, a contemporary of Hammurabi himself, but their composition may go back to the age of the earlier legislator, Lipit-Ishtar.

Eshnunna was not the least among the powers contending for mastery or at least independence in these centuries of division. Like many other cities it had broken away in the last days of the Ur Dynasty and proclaimed its own kings, only to fall later under the precarious sway of Isin.[7] Emerging gradually from this, in proportion as the grasp of Isin loosened, Eshnunna was to have its years of glory under three kings, Naram-Sin, Dadusha, and Ibalpiel II, whose reigns occupied the century ending with

[1] §VII, 3, 103. [2] A, 20; A, 8; A, 16. [3] A, 2.
[4] §VII, 14; G, 22, 336 ff.; G, 7, 95, n. 463; A, 2; A, 16; A, 17.
[5] §VII, 7; G, 7, 166, notes 897, 902.
[6] §II, 2, vol. I, 9. [7] G, 7, 66 ff.; A, 34, 90 ff.

Hammurabi. The first of these even made himself for a while king of Assyria,[1] and all three were prominent in the affairs of Upper Mesopotamia, the last of them being directly concerned in putting an end to the Assyrian rule in Mari,[2] and attaining a height of power such that he could at one moment be reckoned the equal both of Hammurabi and of Rim-Sin.[3] But fortune declared for Hammurabi, and in rapid succession both Larsa and Eshnunna fell before him. Being somewhat out of the direct path of the invaders, Eshnunna had no West-Semitic names of kings until the end of their line; on the contrary, its faith in the old tradition is testified by the Sumerian names Ur-Ninmar and Ur-Ningizzida borne by two of its earlier kings.

A like resistance, however unavailing, to the all-pervasive inflow of the tribes is still better attested at Uruk, the very kernel of Sumerian culture, which also makes its appearance in this 'heptarchy'. Not only did two of its kings similarly bear Sumerian names, Anam and Irdanene,[4] but the former, when he repaired the city wall, recalled with patriotic pride that it was an 'ancient work of the divine Gilgamesh'.[5] The anxiety of these kings to rescue their city and its treasured values from the enveloping flood of tribesmen, whose aid they nevertheless did not scruple to call in against their local enemies, is exposed by a curiously prolix and embarrassed letter,[6] mingling explanations, excuses, appeals, and protests, which Anam addressed to Sin-muballiṭ of Babylon, the father of Hammurabi. Not unexpectedly in view of the West-Semitic names among his predecessors, Sin-muballiṭ is addressed as the acknowledged ruler of bedawin tribes called Amnan-Iakhrur and Iamutbal, which had established themselves mainly in the neighbourhood of Sippar and in a district east of the Middle Tigris.[7] It is in singular contrast with the deep distrust of the nomads manifested by Anam in his letter that Sin-kashid, the first of this line of kings at Uruk, took pride in his title as chief of the Amnan.[8] The purpose, in fact, of this oddly rambling screed is to justify and to maintain Anam's refusal to admit into his city the tribal auxiliaries sent by Sin-muballiṭ as a military reinforcement, almost certainly against Rim-Sin of Larsa, although no enemy is named. It appears also from the letter that ever since the early days of the dynasties at Babylon and Uruk, when Sabium and Sin-kashid were kings, there had

[1] *Ibid.* 164; §v, 3, 8, n. 1 and 210, n. 3; see *C.A.H.* 1³, ch. vi, pp. 209 f. and *C.A.H.* 1³, sect. iii. [2] §v, 3, 38. [3] See *C.A.H.* 11³, ch. i, sect. ii.
[4] §vii, 1, 35 ff.; G, 7, 118. [5] G, 33, 222 f., 2*b*. [6] §vii, 1, 56 ff.
[7] §v, 3, 74 f.; G, 7, 106 f. [8] J. J. Finkelstein in *J.C.S.* 20, 102.

been continual co-operation (as there was also a marriage alliance)[1] between the two kindred families. But the Babylonian branch had later, as it seems, taken over the headship of the tribes, for Anam appeals to a friendship only once interrupted in the past, and protests his loyalty in the present. Since the letter was found at Uruk it was evidently not despatched, and may perhaps be regarded as a draft for an actual missive which should be better considered and kept more to the point.

After seven kings each had reigned at Isin and Larsa in a mutual forbearance which they durst not violate, their impotence was exposed by the setting up of a third power within an even shorter distance on the other side of Isin. At Babylon, which herewith comes for the first time into history as a capital city, the Amorites founded a dynasty which established itself without effective opposition from either of the constituted kings. Absence of hostility from Larsa is partly explained by names of the two contemporary kings, Abisarē and Sumuel, which show that the Amorites had gained a footing at the same moment in that older seat of power. Isin itself, since the reign of Lipit-Ishtar, was probably no longer formidable, and the kings, both of Babylon and of Larsa, were then more preoccupied by a danger from the town of Kazallu,[2] where a turbulent character named Iakhzirel continued to give trouble for several years, notwithstanding the defeats which the armies of Babylon and of Larsa are alleged by the date-formulae to have inflicted upon him.

Thus the three major dynasties which now divided Sumer and Akkad included by no means all the independent rulers of that day. Petty kings set themselves up in cities hard by the greater seats of power and were little molested by these. At about the same time as Sumuabum possessed himself of Babylon other Amorite chiefs were ruling over Kish, only a short distance away, others were at Sippar, a related line has been noticed at Uruk, others again at Marad,[3] and elsewhere, all of them revealed by no more than a few date-formulae or by their names in oaths ratifying private contracts. As an epitome of its age may be viewed the inscription which Ashduni-arim,[4] a minor potentate otherwise unknown but calling himself king of Kish, has left written upon appropriately diminutive clay cones which sort ludicrously with the pompous language in which his achievements are set forth. The four regions of the world (no less) were at

[1] §VII, 1, 6 f.
[2] §V, 3, 202 f.; G, 7, 126 f.
[3] G, 7, 127 ff.; A, 1, 329.
[4] §VII, 15; G, 4, part 36, pl. 4; G, 21, 143 f.; G, 7, 130 f.

enmity with him, and he fought for eight years until his army was reduced to three hundred men. But the gods of Kish came to his aid; he took provisions, went out a full day's march, and in forty days he subdued the hostile land. Then he repaired the wall of Kish and of another place and put in order two canals. The success was real, but only among dwarfs could so small a figure boast himself a giant.

VIII. INTERVENTION FROM ABROAD

When the gaze is lifted to a wider horizon than Sumer and Akkad alone still other faces are seen bearing in upon that centre. Withdrawal of the power of Ur had left in fragments the whole of the world once under its sway, and some of these fragments had coalesced into powers now able to exercise considerable influence in the opposite direction. The greatest of these was certainly Subartu, a land which had been in various conflict with Sumerian and Akkadian rulers since the Early Dynastic period.[1] Though its limits are always hard to define there can be no doubt that it included, at this time, the city and land of Ashur, or that its rulers, whatever the extent of their authority, may be identified with the early kings of Assyria, known both by their own inscriptions[2] and from their inclusion in the royal lists of that country.[3] One of these, Ilushuma, who lived in the generation before Sumuabum,[4] founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon, and uses the old title *iššak* of the god Ashur, has left two inscriptions in which, after relating his continuance with building the temple of Ishtar, he adds that he established the immunity of Akkad, specifying as recipients of his benefit the cities of Ur and Nippur in Sumer together with Awal, Kismar, and Dēr of the god Sataran in the lands east of the Tigris. These he decreed to be in the same status as Ashur with respect to freedom from taxation, for this is the meaning of the term he employs.[5] If he imagined these arrangements were likely to be long-enduring he was much deceived. There is no record from the south which gives any hint of this Assyrian incursion, nor of the king at whose expense it was made. Despite the suggestion of permanence, it can have been

[1] See above, pp. 117 and 430 f.; A, 29, 16 ff.

[2] §1, 10. [3] See *C.A.H.* I³, ch. VI, pp. 195 f. and 202 f.

[4] This is now generally concluded (e.g. *C.A.H.* I³, ch. VI, p. 203), although a late chronicle (§1, 36, vol. II, 14) seems to make these two contemporary; further discussion in G, 7, 92. [5] §VII, 5, 120 ff.; §VIII, 5; G, 32, 179 f.; A, 3, 24 f.

no more than a raid, and the six next successors of Ilushuma, although there were powerful kings among them, did not again interfere in the affairs of Sumer and Akkad.

Nearly a hundred years after this a new dynasty was founded in Assyria by Shamshi-Adad, the greatest figure of his generation, who was to exercise upon the politics of Babylonia an influence which far outmatched any of the principalities established there. His own inscriptions[1] claim the control of 'the land between the Tigris and Euphrates', and boast the tribute of the kings of Tukrish[2] and the 'upper land', districts to the east of Assyria. Far wider conquests in the west are announced not only by himself but by much other evidence. The history of his origin and of his reign does not belong to this place,[3] but he seems to have been a freebooter chief who had in his earlier days been obliged to escape into Babylonia before a danger which threatened him, evidently from the reigning king of Assyria. After certain years of exile strength or opportunity allowed him to re-enter Assyria with forces sufficient to depose the reigning king and raise himself to a throne which he occupied for thirty-three years. That he afterwards interposed strongly in the affairs of Babylonia is not directly attested, but one who wielded decisive power in two of the neighbouring states must have largely controlled the fortunes of the south itself in the period of native decline before a limited supremacy was achieved by Hammurabi. The death of Shamshi-Adad is known to have occurred after the tenth year of Hammurabi,[4] so that his reign in Assyria had extended back over Sin-muballit's reign in Babylon. But he was not paramount in the south for all this time, as is proved by the freedom of those kingdoms to indulge in mutual strife, which they could never have done under an effective overlord. Nevertheless it is at least probable that the early years of Hammurabi himself were passed in a state of deference, if not subservience, to this formidable neighbour.

The later years of the dynasties of Isin and of Larsa coincide with the middle years of the First Dynasty of Babylon, and thus for some sixty years they were sharing a territory of only moderate extent, without more than occasional collisions. The date-formulae of all three cities exhibit sporadic conflicts, both with one another and with places farther afield. But these broils were intermittent, and not apparently of much importance, the three

[1] §1, 10, 22 f. [2] G, 32, 200; §IV, 2, 57; A, 10, 99.
[3] G, 32, 198 ff.; see *C.A.H.* II[3], ch. I, sect. I.
[4] See *C.A.H.* I[3], ch. VI, p. 210, and references there.

being, in fact, too weak or too much subject to pressures from outside to indulge in a struggle to the death. This became a possibility only with a change in the ruling family at Larsa, where after the brief and violently interrupted reign of Ṣilli-Adad[1] the throne was taken by Warad-Sin, as a nominee of his father, Kudur-Mabuk.

The advent of this family, father and two sons, to power in Larsa and Ur is an event of which no specific record exists. But in several inscriptions Kudur-Mabuk alludes to enemies who had done mischief to Larsa and its Sun-temple, of which he proclaims himself the vindicator. In one place these enemies are specified as the armies of Kazallu and Mutiabal,[2] and Kudur-Mabuk boasts of having expelled these from Larsa, pursued them into Emutbal and discomfited them, and then captured Kazallu and beaten down its wall. The same victory is also commemorated in the second year-formula of Warad-Sin,[3] and must therefore have been won in the first year of his reign, preluding his occupation of the throne. The father's patronage in this appointment is repeatedly attested by the son, who includes his father in prayers for blessings to be vouchsafed in reward for his pious foundations. Throughout all his reign, and even into that of his brother Rim-Sin, who came to the throne twelve years later, the father's influence was predominant; the origin and the rise of such a commanding figure are consequently of interest.

First, his name itself is significant in the same sense as his father's, whom he often mentions, Simti[4]-Shilkhak, for there can be no doubt that these are Elamite: Kudur(Kutir)- is unmistakable, although -Mabuk, which should be a divine name, is unknown,[5] and again -Shilkhak perhaps derives from, and certainly recalls, the king Shilkhakha,[6] who reigned not much before this time, and was celebrated through a long line of Elamite dynasts. These names, consequently, leave no doubt that both father and son had passed their lives at least on the border of Elamite territory, and had probably assumed names in compliment to the Elamite court. But secondly, in seeming opposition to this stands a curious title 'father[7] of Amurru', or 'of Emutbal', double both in form and content, for as well as the geographical difference, it is also written both in Sumerian and Akkadian. The

[1] G, 7, 150; A, 34, 81 f. [2] §VIII, 4, 122. [3] G, 15, no. 266, 13.
[4] Probably the Elamite Temti- (§VIII, 3, 70, n. 7).
[5] As with the familiar 'Chedorlaomer' (Kutir-Lakamar)—see below, p. 666, n. 4.
[6] See *C.A.H.* II[3], ch. VII, sect. 1; §VIII, 3, 70; §VIII, 1, 35, n. 35.
[7] See *C.A.H.* II[3], ch. VII, sect. 1; §VIII, 3, 71.

location of Emutbal is fairly well fixed[1]—it lay in the plains east of the Tigris and in front of the mountains, the district traversed by the Diyālā river. On the other hand, the name Amurru denoted for the Babylonians their north-west in general, the home of those Amorites whose invasions dominated the history of this period. The seeming contradiction must be explained by the movement, probably a generation before, of the Amorite tribe Iamutbal which, instead of following the Euphrates downstream, had crossed the steppe and settled in the east-Tigris land,[2] where their chiefs had accepted some kind of vassalage to the Eparti kings of Elam.[3] It was, therefore, from this neighbouring chieftaincy that the powerful tribal leader Kudur-Mabuk had moved into the boundaries of Larsa during a period of decline, possessed himself of the city itself, driving out an enemy in brief possession, and set up there as kings in succession his two sons who were for a while to revive its fortunes.

Warad-Sin has left a number of wordy inscriptions, chiefly upon clay cones from buildings which he repaired in Ur and Larsa, but his rule extended over Nippur and some other minor cities as well.[4] Perhaps the most interesting event of his untroubled years was the appointment of his sister to the high dignity of priestess to the Moon-god at Ur, an office customarily reserved for the closest female relatives of kings.[5] The solemn occasion was registered as one of the year-formulae, a ceremonial name Enanedu, in the form prescribed by ancient usage, was assumed by the new abbess who later in the reign of her second brother was able to restore her 'convent' at Ur with funds provided by him after his final victory over Isin. Of this work she had composed a memorial written upon clay cones in a high-flown Sumerian style; this was recovered and perused with satisfaction by Nabonidus in the last years of Babylonian independence,[6] and has lately reappeared after another twenty-five centuries.[7]

Rim-Sin, who succeeded his brother, must have been a young man at his accession, for not only was he to reign sixty years[8] but it would seem that some natural anxiety recalled Kudur-Mabuk to supervise his first steps in kingship, for the father's name occurs again in dedications by his son.[9] This tutelage cannot

[1] §v, 3, 177 and 216. [2] *Ibid.* 216.
[3] See *C.A.H.* II[3], ch. VII, sect. 1 for the Eparti kings; §VIII, 3, 71, for the title *atta*; A, 1, 335.
[4] G, 7, 174 f.; A, 32, no. 75; A, 6. [5] See above, p. 634.
[6] §VIII, 2, 164 ff. [7] §VII, 4. [8] G, 7, 22.
[9] G, 33, 218 and 220; G, 15, nos. 141, 142; A, 32, no. 87.

have lasted long in Rim-Sin's reign, which began to unroll quietly enough in the company of the rival dynasties of Isin, now in its decline, and Babylon, now approaching the verge of its greatest days. These early years have nothing to record but religious buildings, care of canals, and dedications of statues representing Kudur-Mabuk, his brother Warad-Sin and, surprisingly, his predecessor Sin-iddinam.[1] The first warlike enterprise is mentioned in the date of his fourteenth year, when 'the army of Uruk, Isin, Babylon, Sutium, and Rapiqum, and Irdanene, king of Uruk, were smitten with weapons', an event related in similar terms upon clay cones found at Ur,[2] which add the picturesque detail that he trod with his foot upon the head of the hostile king of Uruk as though he had been a serpent. This struggle was in itself no more than characteristic of the petty warfare which had been endemic since the strong control of Ur had disappeared, but it was nearly the end of the local dynasty at Uruk,[3] and it foreshadowed the contest for supremacy with Isin and Babylon, whereas the more distant alliance with Rapiqum[4] and of the Sutu nomads must have been the outcome of a temporary political grouping.

In this fourteenth year of Rim-Sin the last king, Damiq-ilishu, was on the throne of Isin, and Sin-muballiṭ recently come to that of Babylon. The succeeding years were divided between civil undertakings and desultory warfare in which Rim-Sin captured several towns of little account and uncertain location; in his twenty-first year he claims a victory, which he used mercifully, against Uruk. At length, in his twenty-fifth year, he appears as beginning the decisive struggle with Isin, for he announced the capture of a 'city (of) Damiq-ilishu' with thousands of prisoners whom he brought captive to Larsa and 'established his victory for ever'. Despite this emphatic language and the name of Damiq-ilishu it is difficult to construe this as the capture of Isin itself, for that triumph was not expressly claimed until five years later, and it is still more curious that in the seventeenth year of Sin-muballiṭ, a year which fell between the twenty-fifth and the thirtieth year of Rim-Sin, a capture of Isin is actually recorded by the king of Babylon.[5] The strange situation that a complete victory over Isin was related on at least two and possibly three occasions within five years, and that by two different rulers, is

[1] G, 5, vol. II, 161, no. 208. Possibly explained by the presence of then-existing figures, see A, 3.

[2] G, 15, nos. 138, 144.

[3] §VII, 1, 38; G, 7, 156.

[4] §V, 3, 38, n. 2.

[5] G, 7, 158 f.

not one that we can elucidate with the slight information that we have. What is certain is that Rim-Sin upon his thirtieth year published a long and almost lyrical date-formula to describe how 'with the exalted weapon of Anu, Enlil, and Enki the true shepherd Rim-Sin captured Isin, the royal city, with every one of its inhabitants, as many as there were, and then bestowed life upon its widespread people, and made his royal name famous for evermore'.

Thus ended the kingdom saved by Ishbi-Erra out of the ruins of Ur and lost by Damiq-ilishu two and a quarter centuries afterwards. Its fall left the dominion to be contested by two powers, so long its rivals, Larsa and Babylon itself. The decision was to be delayed for another thirty years, during which Rim-Sin rested so complacently upon his laurels that he suffered no other reckoning of time than 'year *x* (after) he captured Isin', thereby cutting off our only supply of historical information. This royal lethargy, however, was by no means typical of the times, for there is massive and ever-growing testimony that the reigns of Rim-Sin, of Hammurabi, and of his son Samsuiluna embraced the period when literature, crafts, and all kinds of learning, true and false, were cultivated and even created with an ardour and achievement never matched again. Concerning these something may be reserved for a more general survey of what is called, from its dominant figure, the age of Hammurabi.

CHAPTER XXIV(*b*)

ANATOLIA IN THE OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD

VIII. HISTORY

THE oldest contact of Anatolia with the Akkadian-speaking peoples appears to go back to the time of the Dynasty of Agade. A legendary account, the so-called epic *King of the Battle*,[1] relates that a group of merchants from the Anatolian city of Purushkhanda sent a delegation to the king Sargon of Agade, urging him to undertake a campaign to their city and vividly describing the wealth of their country. Sargon is reported in the legend to have, after some hesitation, acceded to the merchants' request leading his troops to Purushkhanda.

Another historiographical text, the Legend of Naram-Sin,[2] implies that the city of Purushkhanda belonged to the realm of Sargon's grandson. Here it is related that a strange host, descending from the city of Shubat-Enlil in the country of Subartu, i.e. from northern Mesopotamia,[3] invaded Naram-Sin's kingdom, first attacking Purushkhanda and then, turning east and finally south, advanced toward the heartland of the Akkadian Empire. It is significant that Hittite versions of both of these tales have come to light at Boğazköy and that Sargon's exploits in Asia Minor are alluded to by the Hittite king Khattushilish I (*c.* 1650 B.C.) in an historical inscription;[4] for this tends to show that the later population of Anatolia considered the Old Akkadian period the beginning of their country's recorded history. It is further worth noting that in the *King of the Battle* one of the principal actors bore the name of Nur-daggal, which stands for Nur-Dagan. Since, in the belief of the Akkadians, the lands dominated by the god Dagan lay west and north-west of the city of Tuttul (near the mouth of the river Balīkh)[5] the name Nur-Dagan perhaps implies that the merchants of Purushkhanda were not Akkadians but western Semites who were anxious to enter into commercial relations with Akkad.

[1] See above, ch. XIX, sect. 1, with references; also *Arch. f. Or.* 20 (1963), 161 f.
[2] See above, ch. XIX, sect. III; §VIII, 5.
[3] §VIII, 12, 331, n. 2. [4] §VIII, 7. [5] §VIII, 13, 15, n. 1.

The first ruler whose contacts with that part of Asia Minor which, in the Hellenistic period, was called Cappadocia, are well attested is Erishum I of Assyria (*c.* 1941–1902 B.C.).[1] Two copies of an original inscription of this king[2] recording his building activity in the complex of the Ashur temple in the city of Ashur were excavated in 1948 at Kültepe,[3] a site near the modern village of Karahüyük, not far from Kayseri in central Asia Minor. With this ruler began an era in the history of Asia Minor which is characterized by close political and economic ties with Assyria. The latter country, in the middle of the twentieth pre-Christian century, had initiated a policy of expansion which, to judge by two royal inscriptions of this period, served the purpose of establishing commercial relations with foreign countries. In an inscription dealing with his campaign to Babylonia, Erishum's father, King Ilushuma (*c.* 1962–1942) remarks: 'The freedom of movement[4] of the Akkadians and of their children I established. Copper for them I washed. From the marshy regions and the city of Ur and the city of Nippur, the city of Awal and the city of Kismar, the city of Dēr of the god Sataran up to the City [i.e Ashur] I established their freedom of movement.'[5] Accordingly, Ilushuma compelled the then overlord of Ur and Nippur, King Ishme-Dagan of Isin, and three vassal states of his, to grant the merchants of Akkad access to their cities and the right to market in these their own goods as well as merchandise which they purchased in Ashur. The phrase about 'washing copper' for them implies, on the other hand, that Ilushuma kept a state monopoly on the native copper found in countries dependent upon Assyria and processed through crushing and washing; but he obviously granted the Akkadian traders the privilege to purchase this copper from him and to sell it in their own country as well as in southern Babylonia. State monopolies of the copper trade existed in most ancient Near-Eastern countries. They were motivated by the fact that weapons of war were made of copper. By keeping the sale of the red metal in his own hands, a ruler could determine who was allowed to make, to market, and to own weapons.[6] However, Ilushuma's son, Erishum, relinquished this last state monopoly

[1] Dates assigned here to these Old Assyrian kings are some forty years earlier than those of the general scheme followed in *C.A.H.* Some explanation will be given in the following chapter.

[2] At this period the Assyrians used the title 'king' (*šarrum*) only for the national god Ashur. Their earthly rulers bore the titles *waklum* 'overseer', *iššiakkum* 'priest-prince' or *rubā'um* 'prince'.

[3] §VIII, 10.

[4] *adurār*; see §VIII, 20, 27, n. 57.

[5] §VIII, 25, 115, lines 49 ff.

[6] Cf. 1 Sam. xiii. 19 ff.

also, at least in so far as Assyria proper was concerned. In one of his inscriptions unearthed in Ashur he writes: 'I established the freedom of movement of silver, gold, copper, lead, wheat, wool', and two other commodities.[1]

Three sites in Asia Minor attest the eminent success of this Old Assyrian trade policy. Near the afore-mentioned village of Kültepe, the ancient city of Kanesh, thousands of inscribed clay tablets have been found, attesting the activity of Assyrian merchants who dispatched goods from their homeland to Anatolia, sold them there, and sent back to Ashur gold and silver, at least part of which was to be used for the purchase of more merchandise for export. Smaller archives of the same nature were found at Alişar, the ancient city of Ankuwa, and at Boğazköy, the site of the famous city of Khattum, or Khattusha, where, several centuries later, the Hittite kings established their residence.

In view of the commercial character of these archives, historical data are rather scanty. For the purpose of estimating the length of the period covered by the archives mention must be made of the date formulae which are found on numerous juridical documents, in particular promissory notes. In the manner practised by the Assyrians throughout their history, the years in these date-formulae were named after an eponym-official called *līmum* (*limmu*)[2] appointed annually at Ashur. Lists of these officials made it possible to ascertain their sequence, and the practice of making the king *līmum* in one of the early years of his reign served to co-ordinate the eponym-list with the king-list. However, neither of these lists has yet been found in Asia Minor.

The number of eponyms named in date-formulae on tablets from Asia Minor thus far amounts to about eighty-four.[3] Of these six occur on tablets from Boğazköy, five on texts from Alişar, and the remaining seventy-three on Kültepe tablets. There is some evidence, both archaeological and calendric, which indicates that the eighty-four years represented by these officials were not consecutive years, but that an older period of some seventy years, designated by the excavators of Kültepe as 'level II' must be distinguished from a very short later period, called by the excavators 'level I*b*'. The occurrence in the texts of some royal names combined with a prosopographic analysis of some of the prominent merchant families makes it possible to delimit the two periods. The name of King Ikunum, who appears to have

[1] §VIII, 9, 11, no. 11, lines 20 ff.; §VIII, 19, 99. [2] See below, p. 742.

[3] §VIII, 2, 79 ff.; corrections in §VIII, 18, 34 ff.; additions in §VIII, 21, 348 f. and in §VIII, 3, 62 f.

ruled for only a few years, occurs in a promissory note from Kültepe.[1] His father, Erishum, was involved in one of the typical business operations which, however, dragged on beyond Erishum's lifetime, throughout Ikunum's reign, and into that of his son, Sharrum-kēn.[2] One of the documents recording this transaction is a letter, now preserved in the University Museum of Philadelphia,[3] which bears an impression of the seal of King Sharrum-kēn.[4] It is addressed to a merchant named Pūshu-kēn who is known from numerous letters and documents as the head of one of the prominent business houses. Mention is made in the letter of an interview which Pūshu-kēn had with Sharrum-kēn's father, Ikunum; and whereas the latter addressed the merchant as 'my son', King Sharrum-kēn respectfully called him 'my father'. Accordingly, Pūshu-kēn, while younger than Ikunum, must have been considerably older than King Sharrum-kēn. Pūshu-kēn's father, Sinea, on the other hand, who thus would have been a contemporary of Erishum I, does not appear as an acting person in the texts. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the older period, represented by Kültepe level II, began during the last years of King Erishum I, which means around 1910 B.C.

Pūshu-kēn's sons and daughters are known to have carried on the business after their father's death. A grandson of his, another Pūshu-kēn, son of Buzazu, appears as a witness in an unpublished Kültepe text. The same three successive generations are traceable in the family of another outstanding member of the Assyrian business community, Enlil-bani. His father, Ashur-malik, was a contemporary of Pūshu-kēn, and, like the latter, the first acting member of the family appearing in the texts. One of Enlil-bani's sons, Nāb-Sin, is mentioned in numerous texts, either under his own name or as 'Enlil-bani's son'. The three generations, or seventy *līmum*-years, of the level II period, must accordingly have covered the years from around 1910 to 1840 B.C.

The above-mentioned letter in the Philadelphia Museum is not the only document attesting the rule of Sharrum-kēn during the period covered by the Kültepe texts. A tablet in Edinburgh[5] records a judgment by the highest court of Assyria which, as was traditional in the ancient Near East, was presided over by the

[1] §VIII, 15, 184; see below, p. 711.

[2] §VIII, 19, 101.

[3] §VIII, 19, 99 f.

[4] On the legend of this seal see below, p. 711.

[5] §VIII, 4, no. 327. Three more impressions of Sharrum-kēn's seal are now known, §VIII, 16, plate v, fig. 4, and §VIII, 2, figs. 1–5.

king. In fact, the text begins by stating that the king (*waklum*)[1] sealed the case-tablet. The cylinder-seal which was rolled over the envelope bears this inscription: 'Sharrum-kēn, priest-prince of Ashur, son of Ikunum, priest-prince of Ashur.' A further text written under Sharrum-kēn's rule[2] lists, among various items carried by a caravan, 'five garments of Puzur-Ashur, son of the prince', obviously referring to Sharrum-kēn's son and successor, Puzur-Ashur II, as crown-prince. However, there is as yet no evidence to show that the archives covered either the reign of Puzur-Ashur II or that of his son, Naram-Sin.

The period in which the bulk of the Kültepe texts originated thus being definitely established, it is possible to interpret another group of seal impressions to which historical significance was attributed when they first became known. A case-tablet in the Louvre Museum was sealed with a cylinder bearing the following legend: 'Ibbi-Sin, the mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters [of the world]; Ur-Lugalbanda, the scribe, the son of Ur-nigin-gar, is your servant'. This legend first led scholars to the belief that the tablet in question was written at the time of the last king of the Third Dynasty of Ur[3] (*c.* 2029–2006 B.C.), a conclusion which appeared all the more legitimate since the script as well as the seal impressions of the Kültepe tablets bear a considerable resemblance to those of the Ur III period. Yet a closer examination of the envelope and the enclosed tablet reveals that the seal was rolled over the case not by the scribe Ur-Lugalbanda but by an Assyrian royal scribe who, by using this seal, wished to emphasize that he was the legitimate successor of the royal scribe from Ur. An analysis of the persons involved in the text further reveals that they are all Assyrians, and that the scribe's royal lord was King Ikunum, the son of Erishum, and predecessor of Sharrum-kēn.[4] Two tablets recently excavated at Kültepe bear a seal with the legend: 'Ibbi-Sin, the mighty king, king of Ur'. In this case, the Assyrian owner of the seal had his own name, Amurru-bani, engraved on the cylinder besides the name of the king of Ur.[5] Even though the secondary use of the Ur III seals is thus proved beyond doubt, it remains an open question whether, slightly more than a century before the establishment of the Assyrians, the city of Kanesh and parts of the surrounding country had been under the domination of Ibbi-Sin of Ur. The very presence of the cylinder-seals from Ur at Kanesh

[1] See above, p. 708, n. 2.
[2] §VIII, 6, no. 58, line 24.
[3] §VIII, 24.
[4] §VIII, 15, 184.
[5] §VIII, 22, 124.

may be taken to point in this direction even though no other supporting evidence has come to light as yet.

As regards the later period of Assyrian settlement in Central Anatolia, a text acquired in the years before systematic excavations were undertaken at Kültepe is dated by the eponym Awilia.[1] This official is known by texts from Chagar-Bazar as well as from Mari[2] to have held office at the time when Iasmakh-Adad ruled over Mari, which means in the last few years of the reign of King Shamshi-Adad I (1813–1781 B.C.).[3] Since, according to the previous computation, the older period ended around 1840 B.C., or some 25 years before the accession of Shamshi-Adad I, it is obvious that the year named after Awilia belonged to the later, or '1*b*', period of Assyrian occupation. The conclusion that this later period coincided with Iasmakh-Adad's rule over Mari is compatible with its comparative shortness as evidenced by the dearth of tablets as well as by the small number of eponym-years as compared with those of the older period; for Iasmakh-Adad's rule lasted no more than nine years.[4] It was preceded by some four or five years during which Shamshi-Adad reconquered from Iakhdunlim of Khana the region of Mari and Terqa as well as the Khabur valley. Since, during these years, the newly conquered region was not incorporated yet into the Assyrian Empire, no *līmum* dates were being used at Mari. Instead, the documents were dated by formulae in Babylonian style recording events of Shamshi-Adad's reign.[5] Even so, this conquest restored the communications between Assyria and Asia Minor which, of necessity, had been interrupted when the king of Khana expanded his realm by conquering seven neighbouring kingdoms, including Zalmaqum in northern Mesopotamia.[6] With Iasmakh-Adad's defeat and the installation on the throne of Mari of Zimrilim, hitherto king of Khana, these communications obviously were interrupted again; for Zimrilim ruled not only over the Euphrates valley down to the Babylonian border but also over the Khabur valley and northern Mesopotamia. Accordingly, the later period of Assyrian activity in Cappadocia is likely to have lasted for no more than fourteen years, i.e. as mentioned before, nine years of Iasmakh-Adad during which Assyrian *līmum* dates were used at

[1] §VIII, 4, no. 276; §VII, 2, 43 f.

[2] §VIII, 1, vol. VII, 170, with n. 1. That Awilia's eponym-year occurred in that part of Iasmakh-Adad's rule which fell before his father's death can be inferred from §VIII, 1, vol. VIII, no. 9.

[3] Cf. §VIII, 14, 445 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] §VIII, 23, 53, nos. 1–4; add perhaps the formula in §VII, 1, vol. VIII, no. 45.

[6] §VIII, 23, 52, no. 2. On the conquests of Iakhdunlim of Khana see §VIII, 11.

Mari and five years with names in Babylonian style preceding his accession. If the Mari texts contain altogether about eighteen different names of eponyms[1] this is due to the fact that they cover three unconnected periods of Assyrian overlordship, *viz.*, several years (including that of Ibni-Adad) before Shamshi-Adad's accession, several years of Sumu-iamam,[2] and the years of Iasmakh-Adad.

Whereas the end of the later period thus appears to be historically well established, the question remains to be answered what caused the apparent eclipse of the Assyrians between the end of the older and the beginning of the more recent epoch. In this respect attention must be called to the occurrence on tablets from Kültepe and Alişar of the names of several non-Assyrian princes who are known from Hittite sources. A promissory note excavated in 1925[3] bears this unique date formula 'When Labarsha took over the princely functions'. Regardless of whether this take-over was a legitimate accession to an ancestral throne or a seizure following a conquest, the new ruler does not appear to have interfered with the activities of the Assyrian merchants; for the text stipulates that the debt recorded in the promissory note was payable as soon as the creditor, who bore the Semitic name Idi-Ishtar, should return from Khattum. The mention of Khattum raises the question whether it was the throne of this city-state to which Labarsha acceded and whether, accordingly, this Labarsha is identical with the King Labarnash who, according to Hittite tradition, heads the list of Hittite kings of the so-called Old Kingdom.[4] Labarnash was accorded a special place in Hittite history because he allegedly enlarged his original kingdom by conquering the entire territory which separated it from the sea. If, however, it was Kanesh where Labarnash took over the throne, this date formula would represent the moment when a native replaced a Semite as prince of Kanesh.[5] For the present discussion it is important to note that the Assyrian merchants, while finding this accession an event sufficiently important to replace with this unusual formula their usual dating by month and eponym, did not discontinue or interrupt their commercial activities.

A similar conclusion can be reached with respect to the city of Zalpa; here it can be shown that, about the time of the second of

[1] Seventeen of these in § VIII, 23, 53 f.; the eighteenth is Akhiia-aia whose eponym-year occurs in § VII, 1, vol. VIII, no. 52.

[2] § VIII, 11.

[3] § VIII, 8, 1 no. 178, lines 2 ff.; § IX, 13, 114.

[4] See *C.A.H.* II[3], ch. VI, sect. IV.

[5] See § VIII, 15, 181 ff.

the three generations of Assyrian merchants traceable in the level II period, a political change took place, Assyrian domination of the city being replaced by that of a native ruler.[1] Yet there too the Assyrians continued their business without interruption, no doubt because the native rulers found it to their own advantage to maintain the export–import trade at a high level.

The names of several local princes are mentioned in texts dealing with the affairs of the native population. The most noteworthy among these princes occur in the divorce record of a non-Assyrian couple which contains the following clause: 'In the hand of Pitkhana, the prince; Anitta [was] commander of the fortress'.[2] The Hittite inscription of a King Anitta, son of Pitkhana, found at Boğazköy, relates how this king, extending his father's conquests, took over large parts of eastern Anatolia and, after having conquered and destroyed Khattusha, the subsequent capital of the Hittite kings, assumed the title 'great king'. Proof of the identity of this King Anitta with the 'commander of the fortress' of the Kültepe tablet is furnished by one of the documents excavated at Alişar. Dealing with the release of six native prisoners, this text contains the clause: 'In the hand of Anitta, the great prince; Peruwa was commander of the fortress'. Another text from Alişar, obviously somewhat earlier, refers merely to 'Anitta, the prince'.[3] Still another text from Alişar, this one from the Assyrian settlement, refers to the ruler of the town as 'the princess' and her 'commander of the fortress', it being *a priori* uncertain whether this princess preceded or followed Anitta.[4] To round out the evidence concerning Anitta, it must be mentioned that a dagger bearing the inscription 'palace of Anitta, the prince', was unearthed on the mound proper of Kültepe—that is to say, not in, or near, the Assyrian settlement which was located in the plain surrounding the mound.[5]

Owing to the fact that three of the native witnesses of the divorce record mentioning Anitta's father, Pitkhana, can be traced in documents involving Assyrians, it is possible to integrate these native rulers into the three-generation scheme previously established for the Assyrians. The first of these witnesses was Khaduwa, who appears also in two documents[6] listing

[1] §VIII, 15, 196 ff.

[2] Literally, 'chief of the stairway'; see the text §IX, 19, no. 214, studied in §VIII, 17, 2, 111 ff.; and see *C.A.H.* II[3], ch. VI, sect. III.

[3] §VIII, 6, nos. 49 and 1 respectively.

[4] *Ibid.* no. 5.

[5] §VIII, 2, 78.

[6] §IX, 19, no. 158; also in §IX, 3, no. 163; see §VIII, 17, 2, 124 f.

bundles of cloth which were presented as gifts to various natives, among them Khaduwa and the 'chief of the weapons'. These textiles are said to have been brought up 'to the palace', whence it seems that, as in the afore-quoted divorce record, Khaduwa was an official of the local prince. Now the list of textiles also states that the *kārum* at the place where this prince resided received some of the items for the account of Shu-Ishtar, son of Ilish-tikkal, and he is attested as a contemporary of the well-known Imdi-ilum,[1] who belonged to the first generation of Assyrian merchants.

Two more of the witnesses in the first-named deed of divorce are found again in another deed of divorce[2] in the company of a certain Ennanum, son of Alabum, and this man again is attested[3] as a contemporary of Imdi-ilum.

From all this it results that Pitkhana was himself a contemporary of the first generation of Assyrian merchants, and probably a vassal of the Assyrian king, for in the second deed of divorce mentioned above[4] it is said that two of the natives concerned in the action swore an oath 'by the City' (i.e. Ashur). Furthermore, according to the afore-cited list of textiles,[5] Pitkhana's principality was the seat of a *kārum*, and it will be shown[6] that the Assyrian governing-body was called *kārum* only in those city-states where the local ruler had submitted to Assyrian supremacy.

Consequently Anitta and the conquests which prompted him to assume the title 'great prince' fell within the second generation of Assyrian merchants at Kanesh. It is therefore unlikely that his expansionist policy was the cause, or a contributing cause, of the abrupt end to the older period of Assyrian occupation at Kültepe. As will be seen below, the end of the 'level II' period is more likely to have been brought about by circumstances which made the caravan traffic between Assyria and Asia Minor unprofitable.

IX. PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENT

At the time of the Assyrian penetration into Asia Minor this region was divided into a considerable number of small city-states each of which was ruled by a native prince (*rubā'um*) or princess (*rubātum*). Establishing a pattern of domination which subsequent generations of Assyrian rulers followed throughout their country's history, the Assyrians left these rulers unmolested on

[1] §VIII, 4, no. 298; §IX, 26, v, 41 *b*.
[2] §VIII, 4, no. 6.
[3] §VIII, 8, 11, no. 78.
[4] §VIII, 4, no. 6.
[5] §IX, 19, no. 158.
[6] See below, p. 722 f.; §VIII, 15, 189 ff.

their thrones if they were willing to submit to Assyrian supremacy. A vassalage treaty was concluded and sworn to by the two contracting parties by their respective gods, and the local prince became a 'son' of the Assyrian king who frequently sent a female member of the royal house to marry his new vassal and troops to protect his kingdom.[1]

Among the few non-commercial documents that have come to light at Kültepe there are several which allude to the oath of allegiance sworn by a native ruler to the Assyrian authorities. In one of these texts it is reported that messengers of the Assyrian governing body of the town of Durkhumid had requested an audience with the prince of Tamnia in order to make him swear the oath; however, the prince refused to have the oath administered by the envoys from Durkhumid, asking instead that 'his fathers', the authorities of Kanesh, should come and administer the oath to him.[2] In another letter, the Assyrian administration of the town of Wakhshushana reports to its superiors at Kanesh that a message arrived from the prince of the city-state of Washkhania informing the Assyrians that he had acceded to his father's throne and added: 'Make me swear the oath!'[3] In an unpublished letter, finally, the prince of the town of Khurumu-[...] writes to the Assyrian authorities at Kanesh: 'I am your son! I hold on to the oath.'[4]

To judge by the name Peruwa borne by the youngest member of the afore-mentioned dynasty of Kushshar, ethnically at least some of the native princes were Indo-Europeans, either Hittites or Luwians.[5] The same seems to be true of the princes Warshama and Warpa known to have ruled at Kanesh.[6] As regards the subjects of these rulers, the numerous documents dealing with the affairs of natives contain male and female personal names which can be regarded as Hittite or Luwian.[7] On the other hand, it cannot be denied that among the geographical as well as among the native personal names a considerable number are Hurrian. It is certainly not a mere coincidence that the Cappadocian city name Ullama recurs as Ulamme in the region of Nuzi, near Kirkuk, where it is found in documents from the fifteenth pre-Christian century written in Akkadian by a Hurrian population.

[1] §VIII, 1, vol. VI, no. 26; §VIII, 12, 343 f. [2] §VIII, 2, 73 f.; §VIII, 18, 27 ff.

[3] §IX, 28, no. 14; §IX, 22, 17 ff.

[4] *anāku mērakunu mamītam ukāl.*

[5] Texts relating to the god Pirwa are written in both Hittite and Luwian, §IX, 25, 68 ff.

[6] On the former §VIII, 3; on the latter §IX, 4, no. 122, lines 15 f.

[7] §VIII, 9, 74 ff.; §IX, 10, 48 f.; §IX, 8, 133 ff.

Hurrian also are the Anatolian town-names Taishama,[1] Taia,[2] Khurrama, and possibly Mama.[3] Since, according to the Mari texts, Hurrian princes[4] ruled over parts of northern Mesopotamia, from the slopes of the Ṭūr-'Abdīn westward, in the time of Shamshi-Adad I, it might appear that the region about the headwaters of the Khabur, subsequently the heart-land of the great kingdom of Khanigalbat, had previously been the centre of a Hurrian territory extending far beyond the Euphrates into Asia Minor.

Among the Hurrian personal names occurring in the Old Assyrian tablets the most typical are Zigi ('the little one'), Irwi-sharri ('The Lord is King'), Enish(ar)ru ('God is King'), and Taia, all of which are well known from the Nuzi documents.[5] Unlike the Indo-Europeans whom the Assyrians contemptuously designated as 'barbarians' (*nu'ā'ū*), the Hurrians appear to have dealt with the Assyrians on equal terms. Enishru was one of the most influential merchants in Kanesh who controlled a considerable part of the trade in cereals and other agricultural products, buying grain futures from the Indo-European farmers and granting them loans at high rates of interest. His daughter, Khatala, married an Assyrian.[6] Another Hurrian, Irwi-sharri, was treated like one of their own men by Pūshu-kēn, the aforementioned prominent Assyrian merchant, and his associates.[7]

Among the Semitic population, a distinction can be made between the Assyrians and the Amorites. The members of the Assyrian business community who left the bulk of the Old Assyrian texts belonged to the same aristocratic families which, in the mother country, furnished the eponym officials. Usually, the senior member of the family resided in Assyria and directed from there the export–import business with Cappadocia. The younger generation, in the meantime, managed the subsidiaries of the firm in the different towns in Asia Minor, especially in Kanesh, returning to Assyria only when the head of the family died or retired from business. Frequently their wives remained in Assyria, taking care of their houses and bringing up their children. In these cases, the men concluded temporary marriages with native women in Cappadocia, with the understanding that the alliance could be dissolved at any time by either of the contracting

[1] §VIII, 3, 6, lines 5, 9, 19; also *Taišuḫ(we)* in the Nuzi text §IX, 2, 23, lines 5, 6, 31.
[2] §VIII, 3, 35, line 11. [3] §IX, 24, 53 ff.
[4] E.g. Shukru-Teshub of Elakhut, *C.A.H.* II³, ch. I, sect. IV
[5] For Hurrian personal names in the Old Assyrian texts see §IX, 8, 155 ff., but also *O.L.Z.* 60 (1965), col. 148, n. 1.
[6] §VIII, 8, 1 nos. 3, 67, 69. [7] §IX, 19, no. 276, lines 14, 19.

parties against payment of divorce-money. Whenever the Assyrian husband was ready to return permanently to his homeland, he paid off his native wife and took, if he so desired, the children with him to Assyria.

Even the smaller communities had their own temple of Ashur, the national god, which contained the deity's statue, emblems, and cult objects. In a letter addressed to their superiors at Kanesh, the authorities of one of the provincial towns wrote that thieves entered their local temple of Ashur and stole all the gold and silver objects including a golden sun from the god's breast.[1] Golden suns as votive gifts for Ashur and other deities are repeatedly mentioned in the business letters, in one instance as much as one mina, or approximately one pound, of gold being spent for its manufacture.

In many of the aristocratic families at least one daughter was dedicated to the service of Ashur or one of the other protective deities of Assyria. In two letters, the wife of a prominent merchant writes to her husband in Kanesh: 'The little girl has grown considerably; arise, come here, and lay her in Ashur's lap and grasp your god's foot.'[2] The title of at least some of the priestesses was *gubābtum*, whereas some others served as *qadištum*. In messages to their relatives abroad these priestesses frequently promised to pray to their god or gods for the addressees. Other typically Assyrian deities figuring prominently in the religious life of the community were Sin, the Moon-god; Ishtar, the planet Venus; Ishtar-ṣād, the star Sirius; Adad, the weather god; and Shamash, the Sun-god. Besides, each family or clan had its own protective deity which was usually referred to as 'my god' or 'your god' or 'our god', frequently also as 'the god of our fathers'.[3] In tablets recording the last will of some of the prominent merchants, it is sometimes stipulated which among the testator's heirs should inherit the statues of these family gods. That these figurines belonged to the most valuable assets of a family can be gathered from the fact that, in case of a financial crisis, they could be pledged as security for a debt.

As regards the language used by the Old Assyrian merchants, it is a highly literary but archaic Akkadian dialect which, however, exhibits most of the features distinguishing the later Assyrian dialect from Babylonian.[4] To mention only a few, regressive vowel harmony is applied consistently, the shift of

[1] See the text partly translated in §IX, 14, 11.
[2] §IX, 26, III, pl. 20, lines 38 ff.
[3] §IX, 18, 51 ff.; §IX, 11, 35 ff.
[4] §IX, 16, 39 f.

initial *wa* to *u* is in the state of development, the treatment of the weak verb closely parallels that of Middle Assyrian. In contradistinction to Middle Assyrian, however, mimation is used by most scribes and probably the *m* was pronounced throughout. The shift of *št* to *lt* had not yet taken place, and double consonants are rarely expressed in writing. The characteristically slanted cuneiform signs, while bearing a certain resemblance to those used under the Third Dynasty of Ur, differ radically from the Middle Assyrian forms; *d*, *ṭ*, and *ṭ́* are not distinguished in writing, nor are *g*, *k*, and *q* or *z*, *s*, and *ṣ*. The plural sign MEŠ is unknown, the plural being indicated after ideograms by the symbol ḪI.A. The use of ideograms is very limited, and determinatives before personal and geographical names are rarely employed, but word dividers are very frequent. The rows of script are usually separated from each other by straight lines drawn with a ruler. The scribe's name is not given in the text unless a scribe appears among the acting persons. Many letters and juridical documents are enclosed in clay envelopes on which the seals were impressed. Sealed single tablets are very rare and record only transactions involving natives.

The second Semitic element of the population of Anatolia at the time of the Old Assyrian texts was formed by western Semites whom the Assyrians called Amorites.[1] Whereas there is no doubt that many of these Amorites were permanent residents of Assyria who came to Asia Minor with the Assyrians, there is evidence to indicate that others had settled in Anatolia, perhaps even before the arrival of the Assyrians. To be sure, there are no written records in the Old West Semitic language spoken by the Amorites, but it is significant that the term by which the Old Assyrian tablets designate the priests of Akkadian as well as of non-Akkadian deities is *kumrum*, the Assyrianized form of the Aramaic term for priest. The passing of this word into the Old Assyrian language was obviously the concomitant of the reception into the pantheon of several West Semitic deities. Evidence to this effect comes from personal names containing theophorous elements such as Dagan,[2] Tibar (occurring in the name Shu-Tibar),[3] Laban,[4] and Ilaprat. The latter deity's name occurs not

[1] §VIII, 4, 148, note a. That these were not nomads is established in §IX, 23.

[2] For this god as ruler of western Mesopotamia and northern Syria see the inscription §IX, 12, 37 ff. ('Sargon b 2').

[3] §VIII, 8, 1, no. 96, ll. 3 f. The god Tibar belongs to Mt. Tibar in Palestine, see §IX, 7, 191 ff. and §IX, 21, 357 ff.

[4] The frequent name Shu-Laban reflects the worship of the Moon-god in the region of the Lebanon.

infrequently in solemn affirmations together with that of the Assyrian national god. Thus we find in a letter addressed by a priest to his son: 'May Ashur and Ilaprat look on [as witnesses],'[1] or, even more characteristically, 'may Ashur and Ilaprat, the god of our fathers, look on [as witnesses]!'[2] In another letter of the same correspondence, mention is made of a sun-emblem for Ilaprat made of fifteen shekels of gold.[3] By nature, he appears to have been a fertility god of much the same type as Tammuz, the Sumerian equivalent being NIN-ŠUBUR, 'The Lord Boar'. Some conclusions about the original home of the cult of Ilaprat can be derived from the Bible which defines the Hebrew equivalent of the name Ilaprat, *viz.*, Efrath, as an old name of the city of Bethlehem.[4] In view of the widespread practice of the ancient Semites in giving towns the name of the principal deity worshipped there it might appear that Ilaprat was originally the god of the town of Efrath (Bethlehem). This conclusion is well in line with a statement in Saint Jerome to the effect that, at the time when the fertility cult of Bethlehem enjoyed the protection of the Roman overlords of Palestine, the sculptured head of a swine adorned the gate by which one left Jerusalem for Bethlehem.[5]

Another west Semitic god whose name is a theophorous element in Old Assyrian personal names is Amurrum; this deity, too, is invoked by some of the writers of Old Assyrian letters in the formula 'May Ashur and Amurrum, the god of my father, look on [as witnesses]!'[6] It is not without significance that the god Anna, who was considered by the Amorites the father of their god Amurrum,[7] was recognized by the Semitic as well as by the non-Semitic inhabitants of Kanesh as their city's patron god. Evidence to this effect is contained in two contracts in which the oath is sworn by Ashur, Anna, and the prince,[8] a formula in which (as in contemporary Babylonian documents from Sippar, Larsa, and elsewhere) the first-named deity was the god of the country and the second the numen of the city in which the contract was concluded. The fact that a west Semitic deity was the patron god of Kanesh tends to indicate that the Amorite community of this city looked back to a long and well-established

[1] §IX, 4, no. 15, lines 17 f.; §IX, 18, 51.

[2] §IX, 26, III, pl. 16*b*, lines 4 ff. [3] §IX, 27, no. 30, lines 3 ff.

[4] As in Gen. xxxv. 19; xlviii. 7; Ruth iv. 11; Micah v. 2.

[5] *Eusebi Chronicorum libri duo* (*ed.* A. Schoene), vol. II, 169 (year 2153 of Abraham).

[6] E.g. §IX, 26, v, pl. 1*a*, lines 31 ff. [7] §IX, 23, 37.

[8] §VIII, 8, 1, no. 32, lines 10 ff. An unpublished contract names in addition an official, the *rabi sikkitim*.

tradition. It is well in line with this conclusion that Kanesh was, so far as can be judged by the material at present available, the only town in Anatolia where the local prince, at least at one time, was a Semite.[1]

As the Amorites were assimilated to the Assyrians to such an extent as to be almost indistinguishable from them, it seems hazardous to attribute to them a particular function in the trade between Ashur and Cappadocia. Yet it deserves mention that a town in the immediate vicinity of the city of Ashur was named Amurrum and that this town or suburb was the place where the caravans destined for Asia Minor were assembled.[2] As there can hardly be any doubt that the town of Amurrum was so named because the majority of its inhabitants were worshippers of the god Amurrum, it would thus appear that these westerners were particularly active in the shipping and transportation business.

For their governing body the Assyrians used the term *kārum* followed by the name of the respective city: *kārum Kaneš*, *kārum Purušḫaddum*, etc.[3] The actual seat of the government was the *kārum*-house which, at least in so far as Kanesh was concerned, was situated in the plain at the foot of the mound on which the *ekallum*, or residence of the prince, was located. Whereas primarily the *kārum* was an office where collectors of revenue were stationed,[4] the function of these Old Assyrian establishments in Anatolia was manifold: first, they collected tolls and taxes from the arriving caravans and had the power to enforce the payment of these duties in cases where the merchants tried to circumvent them. To judge by one tablet,[5] the *kārum Kanesh*, for this purpose, occasionally dispatched envoys to cities such as Khurrama and Timilkia where the so-called 'danger-road' (*ḫarrān sukīnim*) branched off from the main highway to Kanesh in the direction of Durkhumid, Zalpa, and Khattum.[6] Since by way of this road merchandise could be conveyed without passing through the customs offices at Kanesh, these envoys, who are known to have 'seized' some of the travelling merchants, obviously acted to enforce the payment of the import duty. Secondly, these bodies

[1] §IX, 22, 24 ff.; §VIII, 15, 181 ff.

[2] §IX, 23, 48 and 62 ff.

[3] Besides these two the following are attested as seats of a *kārum*: Durkhumid, Khahhum, Khattusha (Boğazköy), Khurrama (near modern Elbistan), Nikhriia, Tawinia (in the region of modern Sungurlu, §IX, 6, 12), Urshu, Wakhshushana, and Zalpa (Alaca Hüyük, see §IX, 5, 239); see also §IX, 22, 66, n. 280.

[4] §IX, 22, 37 ff. The designation of both seaports and riverports as *kārum* is obviously due to the collection there of import duties (*miksi kāri neberi*, §VIII, 9, 1, no. 51, col. iii, 6).

[5] §IX, 17, no. 7*b*.

[6] §IX, 15, 103 f.

were the superiors (fathers) of the native princes who had submitted to Assyrian supremacy.[1] Thirdly, they functioned as courts of justice and saw to it that their decisions were carried out. An instance of this kind may be quoted;[2] a merchant had left a debt unpaid in the town of Shinakhūtum which belonged to the district administered by the *kārum Purušḫaddum*. This latter body ordered the merchant to return to Shinakhūtum and to pay the debt within ten days. It dispatched one of its own officers to accompany the delinquent debtor and to make sure that the debt was actually paid. In another case[3] the *kārum Purušḫaddum* had paid a debt for two Assyrians, and then entrusted the same officer with the task of collecting the money in equal parts from the two debtors. Fourthly, the *kārum* provided storage facilities for merchandise and, lastly, acted as a financial institution, extending credit to, and maintaining accounts of, individual merchants and groups of merchants.

The *kārum Kaneš* had special functions in so far as it was the superior of all the others. Together with the 'envoy of the City [i.e. Ashur]', it received orders from the government at home which it transmitted to these others. In one instance, the metropolitan government requested ten minas of silver for the construction of fortifications;[4] the *kārum Kaneš* was advised to levy this amount from the others under its control and forward the money to Ashur. The *kārum Purušḫaddum*, too, had special functions. To judge by the legendary traditions referred to above, Purushkhaddum appears to have held a privileged position since the very beginning of Anatolian history. It obviously owed this status to the proximity of copper deposits and the ensuing concentration of trade in copper and copper products. According to researches conducted on the site in 1958 by J. Lewy, the city is most likely to be buried under the huge mound known today as Acem Hüyük located some ten miles west-north-west of Aksaray. As indicated by the name Madenşehir, 'Mine City', of a district (today completely abandoned) south of Aksaray, mines appear actually to have existed in that region. In the Old Assyrian as well as in the Hittite period, Purushkhaddum, obviously owing to its wealth, was the seat of a 'great prince' (*rubā'um rabīum*). As regards the *kārum* of Purushkhaddum, it appears to have controlled the mining operations in the city's surroundings, because it was one

[1] See above, p. 716.

[2] §VIII, 8, vol. I, no. 21.

[3] *Ibid.* no. 26.

[4] See in particular the letter §IX, 4, no. 1, translated in §IX, 8, 197, discussed in §IX, 22, 65 ff.

of the main centres of supply of raw copper. It sold large quantities of copper-ore to the Assyrian merchants who dispatched it to the smelting-furnaces, operated mainly by natives; by this process they were said either 'to make [it] long-lasting'[1] or 'to turn the copper into refined [metal]'.[2] This was then either sold or used as currency in Asia Minor.

Towns under the jurisdiction of the *kārum Kaneš* which were too small to have a *kārum* of their own were ruled by a body called 'the decade', apparently a group of ten of the town's senior citizens.[3] In those parts of Anatolia, however, where the local princes had not submitted to Assyrian rule but were nevertheless anxious to maintain trade relations with foreign merchants, the Assyrians were organized in what the Kültepe texts call *wubartum* or *ubartum*.[4] The settlements so designated were located at some distance from the native community of the same name, and they comprised not only merchants but also military personnel. As was customary in the ancient Near East, soldiers and officers were settled on farmland in the surroundings of the native towns, thus fulfilling a double function—while holding the natives in check and being ready to defend their region in case of an emergency, they were self-supporting farmers[5] who paid their taxes to the government. The Assyrian authorities thus were able to control the roads over which their merchants and military supplies travelled while, at the same time, avoiding sieges of unfriendly towns the conquest of which might have been costly in material and human lives. On the other hand, it is self-evident that friction between the native troops stationed in the citadel of the town proper and the Assyrian soldiers in the surroundings was almost unavoidable. In fact, whenever the texts allude to hostilities between the Semites and the natives, they occurred in, or near, *wubartum*-settlements.[6]

X. THE ARTICLES OF TRADE

The merchandise which the caravans transported from Ashur to Asia Minor consisted almost exclusively of commodities called *ṣubat kutānu* and *annukum*, textiles and a metal. From the rather

[1] *ka"unum*; §IX, 26, 1, pl. 19*b*, lines 1–5, and pl. 22*a*, lines 1 ff.
[2] *eri'am ana dammuqim tu'ārum*. [3] §VIII, 4, 255, n. *a*.
[4] §VIII, 15, 189 ff. The following *wubartum*-settlements are found in the texts: Ankuwa (modern Alişar), Badna, Karakhna, Khanaknak, Mama, Shalatiwar, Shamukha, Tukhpia, Ullama, Washkhania, and possibly Kushshara (see §IX, 24); §IX, 22, 59, n. 251. [5] §IX, 22, 62 ff. [6] §VIII, 15, 195 f.

uniform size and weight of the former it can be concluded that a *ṣubat kutānu* was a piece of cloth sufficient for one garment for a grown-up person.[1] For transport, the cloths were either wrapped in other cloths or put into bags designed to preserve the merchandise from the hazards of the weather. These containers were then loaded on asses at a rate of about twenty-five parcels to each animal. In addition to the cloths packed and sealed in the containers, most shipments comprised some pieces designated as 'cloths on hand'. These were sold *en route* by the ass-drivers and other caravan personnel and thus served to defray their travel expenses. Besides cloths of Assyrian manufacture, the merchants frequently re-exported cloths which they themselves bought from foreign traders such as e.g. Babylonians.[2] The prices of the parcels of cloth varied considerably not only in accordance with the quality but also depending upon supply and demand. The sale-price in Asia Minor amounted to approximately three times the purchase price in Assyria,[3] which is not surprising if the length of the haul and the hazards of the journey are taken into consideration.

The identity of the metal *annukum* has been for many years a matter of controversy, some maintaining that it was lead whereas others believed that it was tin. At present, the evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of lead; in the first place, because this metal is found in abundance in the valley of the Greater Zab river, in the immediate vicinity of the capital city of Ashur, in territory under Assyrian control. In the second place, numerous leaden objects, pots and figurines as well as heavy sarcophagi, were discovered by the excavators both at Kültepe and at Ashur, whereas no objects of tin were found in either place. The purpose of the lead-exports to Asia Minor is not expressly stated in any of the extant texts since it was known to all concerned. Yet the unusual abundance of silver in circulation among the Assyrians in Anatolia suggests that the primary use of the lead was in the production of silver. As is well known, lead ores such as galena contain a small percentage of silver which can be recovered by the so-called cupellation process. This method, which all primitive metallurgists were able to carry out,[4] is based on the observation that lead is easily oxidized while the noble metals, silver and gold, remain unchanged. In antiquity, there probably was enough wood in the valley of the Greater Zab to generate the temperatures necessary for the de-silvering process at, or near, the place

[1] §x, 2, 183, n. 6.
[2] Cloths of Babylonian make were called 'cloths of the Akkadians'.
[3] §ix, 8, 289.
[4] §x, 4, 79 ff.

in Assyria proper where the lead was mined. However, large amounts of lead are also needed in de-silvering copper ores, for this requires two cupellation-processes—in the first the copper is oxidized and the non-oxidized silver is dissolved in the lead; in the second the silver is separated from the lead. Now since, at the time of the Old Assyrian texts, Asia Minor possessed a highly developed copper industry, it is likely that the de-silvering of copper ore was the primary purpose of the lead imports. In fact, the mention in several texts of the copper centre Purushkhaddum as the ultimate destination of such lead consignments and as the place of origin of the silver expected to 'come forth' in the process,[1] supports this conclusion. It also accounts for the abrupt end of the Assyrian caravan traffic to Asia Minor which, as was seen above,[2] cannot be explained on the basis of political developments. But as soon as the natives of Asia Minor discovered that their own country was rich in galena, the shipments of lead from Assyria became uneconomical and therefore had to be discontinued.[3]

The price of lead fluctuated less than that of textiles. The average quantity of the metal obtained at Ashur for 1 shekel of silver varied between 12 and 16 shekels, to all appearances depending upon the percentage of silver it contained or was assumed to contain. The sale-price in Anatolia averaged 1 shekel of silver for 6–8 shekels of lead.[4] The lead was carried by asses, each being loaded with a maximum charge of $2\frac{1}{2}$ talents[5] (i.e. approximately 150 pounds). The asses used for this purpose are described in the texts as 'black asses', which probably means that they belonged to the dark-haired, particularly strong breed known to-day as Damascus asses.[6] The owner in Ashur purchased the asses for each journey and the driver sold them upon the arrival of the caravan at its destination. As the texts never mention caravans proceeding from Anatolia to Assyria, the sale and subsequent re-purchase of the beasts of burden apparently was more economical for the owner than an empty east-bound trip would have been. The equipment which, together with the food for the asses, was likewise purchased at Ashur for each journey was also sold on arrival in Asia Minor.

Among the articles traded by the Assyrians wool is sometimes mentioned. The best wool came from Mama, a caravan station in

[1] E.g. §IX, 27, no. 205, line 20. [2] See above, p. 715.

[3] According to §VIII, 2, 42 the tablets from the later level of the Assyrian settlement at Kültepe make no mention of caravan-traffic.

[4] §IX, 8, 280. [5] §X, 2, 183 ff. [6] §IX, 23, 74.

the plain of Elbistan in eastern Anatolia, whence it was shipped to both Kanesh and Ashur. Agricultural products play a certain part in the local trade between various Anatolian cities, but the major article of the intra-Anatolian commerce was copper. It was transported both on donkey-back and by waggon. Large quantities, up to 10,000 minas,[1] were sent from the producer to the processor, from there to the fabricator, and finally on to the eventual user. In the trade with natives, copper served as currency. For this purpose it was shaped into the form of small tools such as sickles, axes, or plough-shares which were weighed out to the recipient.

The silver and gold which the Assyrian merchants traded for their lead and textiles was not transported to Ashur by caravan but was carried by trustworthy, speedy messengers. These were, to all appearances, the same men who carried the mail between the capital and the distant province. So far as can be seen, they left both cities at regular intervals throughout the travelling season which extended from spring into the late autumn. During the cold and rainy season communications, both east- and west-bound, came to a standstill and it seems that at least four months elapsed before traffic was resumed. This is not surprising since, no matter by which route they travelled through northern Mesopotamia, the caravans had to pass through difficult mountainous terrain once they reached the Antitaurus chain. In fact, some of the road junctions frequently mentioned in the texts such as Khurrama, modern Elbistan,[2] lie as high as 3300 feet above sea level, while the mountains surrounding it reach a height of almost 9000 feet. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that these roads became impassable by the end of October or early in November.[3] In Anatolia itself, particularly between Kanesh and the towns further west, communications remained open much longer. Before reaching Asia Minor other climatic problems had to be reckoned with. Nowadays the direct road leading westward from Ashur through the desert and north of the Jebel Sinjār to the Upper Khabur is passable only in spring and in the autumn, since the river Tharthar alongside which this road runs is dry during the summer months. According to the Arab geographers, however, the Tharthar was, in antiquity, a navigable stream. There is as yet no evidence whether in the Old Assyrian period the caravans were able to proceed on this road during the hot season, or whether they travelled, like the merchants in the Islamic period, from the region of Ashur and Nineveh northward

[1] § VIII, 19, 93. [2] § IX, 24, 52.
[3] For climatic conditions in Anatolia see § X, 1, 111 ff.

along the Tigris up to Jazīrah-ibn-'Umar, continuing from there westward toward Nisibis and then on to the Euphrates which they crossed, probably in the region of Malatya. From there they travelled, by way of Timilkia (Darende), Tegarama (Gürün) and thence directly westward to Kanesh; or else they could cross the Euphrates further south near Kızılin and journey from there to Kanesh via Khurrama (Elbistan).[1]

XI. MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND TIME-RECKONING

Whereas the weights occurring in the Old Assyrian texts are those used throughout the centuries in both Assyria and Babylonia (*viz.* the talent, the mina, the shekel, and the grain, being to each other in the relation of 3600:60:1:$\frac{1}{180}$), the measures of capacity differ markedly from those known from later Assyrian sources. These latter, being used mainly for grain and cereal products, were adapted to the carrying capacity of the domestic ass in such a way that 1 ass-load comprised 100 *qa*, which means 100 times the minimum daily grain ration of a primitive worker. Since, as was mentioned before, the 'black asses' which were the basic means of freight shipment of the Old Assyrian merchants were a particularly strong breed, it is not surprising that the unit of capacity reflecting the load carried by these was larger than that in the later Assyrian texts. The Old Assyrian unit was called the sack (*naruqqum*) and comprised 120 *qa*;[2] the sack was subdivided into 4 jars (*karpatum*), each of which contained 30 *qa*. A further sub-unit not attested in other sources was the *šaršaranum*, which contained one half of the volume of a jar, or one-eighth of a sack. With regard to the measures of surface also the Old Assyrian texts do not agree with the later Assyrian. Whereas the Middle Assyrian texts use a system based on the Babylonian measure *ikū* as unit, while the Neo-Assyrians used as a unit the surface seeded with 1 ass-load of grain, the Old Assyrian texts reveal the use of a surface measure *šubtum*, i.e. 'residence'[3]. It represented a lot large enough to build one house and was subdivided into 60 '(surface) shekels'. If, as it has been suggested,[4] the *šubtum* was equal in size to the Old Babylonian SAR, it would have measured 144 square cubits, or 324 square feet. However, since the houses excavated at Ashur as well as at Kanesh are of much larger size, this identification is open to doubt.

[1] §IX, 8, 96 ff. [2] §X, 2, 192 ff. [3] §X, 3. [4] §X, 3, 221.

As mentioned above,[1] the years in the Old Assyrian texts from Asia Minor are named after the *līmum*, eponym-officials who held office at Ashur for one year. Yet the date formulae from Cappadocia exhibit an important deviation from the usual Assyrian scheme. Very frequently, one finds, instead of the well-known date formula 'month A, *līmum* B, the son of C', the following wording: 'month A, *līmum* of the hand of B, the son of C'. The fullest version of this formula reads: '*līmum* [was the one] who took over (*iṣbutu*) from the hand of B, the son of C'.[2] This fuller wording as well as the interchange of the 'hand' formula with the version '*līmum* who [was] after (*warki*) B, the son of C' makes it clear that it designates the year as that of the successor of B, the son of C. The frequent use of such 'successor' formulae suggests that it was a consequence of the long distance which separated Kanesh from the mother country. Yet under normal travelling conditions a messenger on horseback who left Ashur immediately after the name of the new eponym had been announced could have reached Kanesh about three weeks later. Instead it can be shown that in every year at least three, but frequently as many as four and sometimes even five months are dated with the successor formula. This makes it clear that in the period in question the annual change of eponym took place at the beginning of winter when the regular messenger service between Ashur and Kanesh had ceased.

A further important difference between the calendar of the texts from Asia Minor and that of the later Assyrian sources is the frequent occurrence of seasonal festivals in the date-formulae. These festivals which occur predominantly in loans of agricultural commodities are the following: of *Anna*, of *Barqa* (or *Birqa*), of *Nibas*, of *Ḫariḫari*, and of *Duḫduḫanim*. At the time when only four of these festivals were known the view was expressed that they marked the beginning of the four seasons. As by now the number has risen to five, this view can no longer be maintained. It is likely, however, that each festival marked the beginning or the end of a certain agricultural activity, so that the loan in question was expected to be paid back from the sales price which a farmer received for his crop or else in kind from the crop itself. This is all the more likely since the contracts stipulating payment of a loan at one of the five festivals interchange with others in which the loan was to be paid 'from the wage for ploughing', 'at the time of the threshing floor', 'at the taking of the sickle', 'at the falling of the sickle', and the like.

[1] See above, p. 709.

[2] §VIII, 18, 20, n. 3.

CHAPTER XXV

ASSYRIA, *c.* 2600–1816 B.C.

I. THE PRE-SARGONIC PERIOD

THE north-east corner of Upper Mesopotamia, where the river Tigris runs from north-west to south-east, constitutes the region usually designated as Assyria. The narrow valley of the Tigris river and those of its tributaries are studded on both banks with ruin mounds covering major and minor Assyrian towns several of which served as royal residences. The knowledge about some of the cities buried under these mounds was never lost. That the mound of Nimrūd, on the east bank, close to the point where the Greater Zab flows into the Tigris, was the town of Kalakh mentioned in Genesis x. 11 was told by the natives to a British representative of the East India Company who explored the site in 1820.[1] They even knew that the country to which this town had once belonged was named 'al-Assur'. In much the same way, the natives of Mosul were well aware that the huge ruin mound across the river from their city covered Nineveh, the metropolis to which, according to the Book of Jonah, this prophet had been sent and where he died. Small wonder then that these sites attracted the curiosity not only of Bible scholars but of all those interested in the ancient world, and that excavations were undertaken which filled the museums of Europe's capitals with Assyrian antiquities.

Only at a much later time archaeologists turned their attention from the Neo-Assyrian to the Old and pre-Assyrian levels of the two ruin mounds which, by their size and the importance of their buildings stood out among all the others, namely that of the royal city of Ashur, today Qal'at Sherqāt, and Nineveh the most important mound of which is known today as Koyunçik, the smaller one as Nabi Yūnis. At Ashur archaeological evidence precedes by only a few centuries the period in which Mesopotamia and Assyria belonged to the Old Akkadian Empire. As was pointed out by the excavator of Ashur,[2] the extensive earth movements of later Assyrian kings who tried to create a level foundation for their buildings on the rocky slopes of the temenos may have destroyed the remains of earlier periods of the city's history. The

[1] G, 9, 3 f. [2] G, 1, 71.

rather frequent changes of the bed of the Tigris river and its affluents may likewise account for the scarcity of pre-Sargonic remains at Ashur and some of the lesser mounds. In the region of Nineveh, on the contrary, as well as on sites such as Sāmarrā[1] and Tepe Gawra[2] a millennia-old stratification precedes the Sargonic level.

Since at least some conclusions with regard to the early population of Assyria can be derived from a comparison of this stratification with that of Babylonia and northern Mesopotamia, it is in order briefly to summarize it according to the results obtained at Nineveh[3] and Arpachiyah.[4] In the earlier levels, referred to by the excavators as Nineveh 1–3, the remains, particularly the pottery, are closely related to that of Al-'Ubaid and Tell Halaf, a ruin mound near the headwaters of the Khabur river in northern Mesopotamia. In fact, the very existence of an agricultural, undefendable village community in close proximity to Nineveh such as that of Arpachiyah is a feature most characteristic of the pre-Sumerian urban centres such as Ur, Eridu, etc. in southern Babylonia. The level Nineveh 4 corresponds to the Jamdat Naṣr period in Babylonia, which is the earliest tablet level in that country.[5] Level Nineveh 5, on the other hand, is apparently earlier than the First Dynasty of Ur.[6] The comparison suggests that the early population of Assyria was more or less identical with the pre-Sumerian population of southern Babylonia; the absence of any remains corresponding to the so-called Early Dynastic period of Babylonia makes it clear, on the other hand, that Sumerians never occupied Assyria.[7]

The evidence pointing to the identity of the pre-Semitic population of Assyria and the pre-Sumerian inhabitants of Babylonia is not limited to the superficial similarity of the pottery and other material remains. The combination of cuneiform signs with which the city name Ninua 'Nineveh' was written was used also for the name of a south Babylonian town, one of the typical rural communities in the immediate vicinity of Lagash, named Nina.[8] The close relation between the city names Ninua and Nina becomes apparent if it is remembered that they are to each other in the relation of the variants Nuzue and Nuza of the name of the well-known Hurrian city of Nuzi, south of the Lesser Zab.[9] Whereas there is no direct evidence to indicate whether the divine

[1] §1, 7. [2] §1, 24. [3] §1, 16.
[4] §1, 17. [5] §1, 16, 141. [6] *Ibid.* 174. [7] §1, 27, 96.
[8] *C.A.H.* I[3], ch. III, sect. VIII; G, 16, 20 f. Feldstein A, col. III, ll. 10 and 92 f., col. IV, l. 4. [9] §1, 26.

patroness of the pre-Semitic city of Ninua was identical with the fish-goddess Nanshe worshipped in the Babylonian city of Nina,[1] it is significant that the goddess Ishtar of Ninua was one of the principal deities worshipped by the inhabitants of the Hurrian city of Nuzi and other towns in its vicinity.[2] Other geographical names follow a pattern similar to that of Ninua and Nina: the name of the very old south Babylonian city of Uruk is obviously identical with Urkish; this latter name is augmented by an ending *-iš* found in country names such as Tukrish and Mukish. The country of Urkish, located in northern Mesopotamia, was, in the period immediately preceding Sargon of Akkad, the homeland of a king Tisatal, an inscription of whom has been found.[3] This king's inscription as well as his name are Hurrian, whence it is apparent to which ethnic element the population which chose these and similar geographical names belonged: their language was that which is nowadays commonly called Hurrian, but to which the name Subarian would be equally applicable.[4] This conclusion is well in line with the findings of the excavator of Ashur in the oldest stratum of the Ishtar temple at Ashur; he describes this building as 'ein churritischer Breitraum'.[5]

Two further Assyrian geographical names must be mentioned in this connexion. The one is the city name Baltil or Baltila which was used by later Assyrian kings with reference to the earliest precursor of the city of Ashur.[6] Baltila, too, is a Hurrian name, being identical with a personal name found not infrequently among the Hurrian population of the Nuzi region.[7] In fact, the very feature that a personal name figures as a town name is a characteristic of a Hurrian population; whereas the Semites were wont to name their cities for the deity that was worshipped there, it was customary among the Hurrians that a prominent citizen such as for instance the scribe Apil-Si(n) gave his name to the community which he founded and where he lived. Other town names of this type in the Nuzi region are Ili-malik-we; Pukhi-shenni-we; Irimadad-we, standing for Iriba-Adad-we; Wardish-pak-we standing for Warad-Tishpak-we, etc. That the founder of Baltila worshipped the Hurrian god Tilla, whose name is known from theophorous personal names such as Tekhip-Tilla, Pai-Tilla, Elkhip-Tilla, Akip-Tilla, Khishmi-Tilla and so on, can be inferred from his own name which has the meaning 'Knowing

[1] §1, 23; see also below, p. 763.
[2] §1, 9, no. 49, l. 48; no. 140, l. 9; §1, 22, no. 491, l. 2; no. 690, l. 2; no. 799, l. 15.
[3] §1, 21; §1, 20, 213 f.
[4] §1, 25.
[5] G, 1, 72.
[6] §1, 14, 467 ff.
[7] §1, 5, 111.

is Tilla', the verbal stem *pal-* having the meaning 'to know'.[1] To judge by the legend of a seal impressed on an Old Babylonian tablet from Larsa,[2] this god Tilla figured as the son of the storm god Enlil who, throughout the ages, played a role in the pantheon of the city of Ashur.[3] To be sure, the legend of this seal defines Baltil and not Tilla as a 'mighty hero and son of Enlil'; but it is likely that the owner of this seal concluded from the ancient city name Baltil that a god of this name must have existed because, as was mentioned before, among the Semites it was customary to name a city for the god worshipped there rather than for its human founder.

In a passage from Nabonidus's stela from Hillah dealing with Marduk's wrath against Babylon which prompted him to take up residence abroad, the king refers to the country in which the tutelary god of Babylon took refuge as the land of Subir,[4] and to the city where he established his temporary residence as Baltila.[5] As Nabonidus, who was a descendant of the Assyrian royal family,[6] can be trusted to have been well acquainted with Assyrian tradition, this passage suggests that, at the time when the capital city was called Baltila, the country was named Subir, a name which occurs also in the variant forms Subar and Subartu. That these forms as well as Shubar and Shubartu are synonyms can be gathered, *inter alia*, from texts which deal with the role the Subarian deities played in the later Assyrian rituals. Whereas some such texts speak in this connexion of 'gods of the land of Shubari',[7] others designate the same gods as those of Subarti.[8] In fact the variation between an unsuffixed masculine form and a form including the Semitic feminine ending *-ti* occurs also in names of other non-Semitic countries such as, for example, Elamu and Elamtu.

The reason why, in contrast with the archaic city name Baltila, the country name Subartu was not used by the later Assyrians as a designation of their country in ancient days must be sought in the derogatory sense with which this designation was used by non-Assyrians. An early example of this usage is provided by a date formula from Eshnunna, in which the army of Iasmakh-Adad, the son of King Shamshi-Adad I (1815–1783 B.C.),[9] is

[1] §1, 19, 322, *sub* 2.
[2] For the tablet: §1, 8, no. 192; for the seal: §1, 1, 147, *sub* A 532 B.
[3] See below, pp. 766 f.
[4] §1, 10, 73 f., col. 1, l. 35, col. II, l. 18.
[5] *Ibid.* col. 1, ll. 17 and 24.
[6] §1, 11, 35 ff. with notes.
[7] §1, 3, 199, l. 56.
[8] §1, 2, 29, 2. Seite, linke Kol., l. 15.
[9] For this date see below, p. 751.

referred to as 'the host of Shubartu and Khana.'[1] A well-known example from a later period is offered by an inscription of the Babylonian king Marduk-apal-iddina II, the biblical Merodach-Baladan (721–710 B.C.), who designates his Assyrian adversary, King Sargon the Younger (721–705 B.C.) not as 'king of Assyria' but as the 'Subarian' and his army as 'the host of Subir'.[2] The Assyrians themselves used this terminology only when quoting astrological omina, to all appearances of Babylonian origin. Thus, an astrologer reports to the Assyrian king that '[If the moon is seen] in the month of Nisan, on the 30th day, [the land of Su]-bartum [will devour] the Akhlamū'. He adds by way of explanation: 'We are Subir.'[3] The origin of the derogatory sense of the names Subir, Subartu, etc., must be looked for in the custom, traceable in a considerable number of Old Babylonian texts, of importing Subarian slaves because they were highly appreciated in Babylonia. The use of Subarian slaves thus became so widespread that the term Subarum or, in Old Assyrian, Subrum, eventually became a general designation of a slave.[4] In the historic period few, if any, of the original Hurrians were left in Assyria proper. When the Akkadian-speaking Semites arrived and settled in Assyria, they obviously pushed the Subarians into the east-Tigridic foothills of the Kurdish mountains and into the mountainous regions of northern Mesopotamia where they are actually traceable at the time of Shamshi-Adad I.[5]

II. THE SARGONIC PERIOD

The Sargonic Period is well attested at Nineveh, both archaeologically and in inscriptions. On the site of the Ishtar temple, identified as such by numerous fragments of several duplicates of a building inscription of Shamshi-Adad I[6] and of later Assyrian rulers,[7] a solid rectangular building of unburnt brick was unearthed in what the excavator called the sixth level.[8] It was identified as belonging to the Sargonic Period by stone cylinders the oldest of which bears an Old Akkadian inscription; this text,[9] only partially preserved, is the duplicate of a monument erected at Nippur by king Naram-Sin, the fourth king of the

[1] §1, 13, 448. [2] §1, 4, 133, ll. 9 and 17; §1, 10, 60, col. 1, l. 29.
[3] G, 14, no. 62, ll. 1 f. and 4. [4] §1, 15.
[5] See above, p. 717; §1, 12, 331, n. 2.
[6] §11, 20, 105 ff. and plates 81 ff.; G, 2, 9. [7] §11, 20, 57 ff.
[8] *Ibid.* 58; §1, 27, 96. [9] §11, 15; §11, 23, 280*b*.

Sargonic Dynasty. To be sure, the original of this monument is not known, but a copy made by an Old Babylonian scribe was found at Nippur.[1] The evidence that Naram-Sin's realm comprised Nineveh is well in line with the statement contained in Shamshi-Adad's inscription, namely that the previous builder of the Ishtar temple at Nineveh was 'Manishtishu, the son of Sargon, king of Akkad'. From Ashur, too, comes information attesting the rule of the third Old Akkadian king over Assyria. A short inscription engraved on the point of a spear dedicates that object to 'Manishtusu, king of the universe'.[2] Some further texts from the Sargonic period found at Ashur, among which is a purchasing contract engraved on a stone tablet, were never published.[3]

Important information about the city of Ashur in the Sargonic period is furnished by the Old Akkadian texts from Nuzi which repeatedly refer to Ashur (always spelled *A-šùr*^{KI}),[4] implying at the same time that administrative personnel of the Akkadian kings, among others one Akhu-ṭāb and one Puzur-ekallim, were stationed in the city. That Ashur was an important administrative centre of the Akkadian Empire can be gathered also from the remains of palatial buildings belonging to this period. At least one prominent archaeologist dates the so-called Old Palace, a huge building adjoining the temple tower of Enlil, to the Sargonic period on the strength of its striking similarity with the palace built by Naram-Sin at Tell Brak.[5] A private house of almost palatial dimensions which the excavator himself dated to the period here under discussion yielded a mace-head of haematite with the inscription 'Rimush, king of the universe',[6] which recurs on a mace-head found at Ur.[7] In fact, what is perhaps the oldest Assyrian royal inscription was found in the ruins of the Ishtar temple at Ashur. It can be dated with fair certainty, because the shape of the signs, the choice of the words, and the orthography are those of the Old Akkadian period.[8] It reads: 'Ititi, the *iššiakkum* (PA), the son of Inin-labbā, dedicated (this object) to Ishtar out of the booty (made in the campaign against the city) of Gasur.' For the dating of the text it is further significant that the names Ititi and Inin-labbā occur repeatedly in the Old Akkadian texts from Nuzi, which city is either identical with, or in the immediate vicinity of, Gasur. Ititi's title *iššiakkum* is one

[1] §11, 17, no. 36; §11, 16, 209 ff.
[2] §11, 24, 85; §11, 9, 109, n. 206.
[3] G, 6, 230, *sub* §6.
[4] §11, 14, p. xi.
[5] §11, 13, 27 f. and 63.
[6] §11, 18, plate 22*b*, item no. Ass. 20580; cf. pp. 5 f.
[7] §11, 5, no. 10.
[8] §11, 1, 53 and plate 64*a*; G, 11, 259.

of the well-known designations of the Old Assyrian rulers who, as will be pointed out in greater detail below, did not use the title king.

As this inscription makes it clear that the conquest of the Nuzi region which, owing to its wealth in gold and in agricultural products, was a bone of contention between Assyria and Babylonia throughout the ages, started from Assyria, the question arises whether the Akkadians did not have a more solid base of operations in Assyria than they had in Babylonia. In fact, in many respects the impression the Akkadians left in Assyria was deep and permanent. In so far as the language is concerned, Old Assyrian is the only Akkadian dialect which has preserved certain features typical of the Old Akkadian language; one of the most characteristic ones is the use instead of the usual *ina*, 'in', of the short form *in*, the *n* of which was assimilated to the following consonant. While the shape of the signs of the two dialects differs conspicuously, a common feature is the consistent use of GA for *ga*, *kà*, and *qá*. Also certain personal names are common to Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian: first, the frequent occurrence of names of the type Ititi, Buzuzu, Ṣilulu, Sulili, etc. Typical of the personal names of both dialects is further the use of forms without an ending such as Lāqīp, a name frequent in Old Akkadian as well as in Old Assyrian. The use by the Assyrians of typically Old Akkadian names is of particular significance. Even as many other Semites, the Assyrians of the Old Assyrian period used to name a child born shortly after the death of his or her grandparent for this deceased ancestor. Underlying this habit was the idea that the soul of the deceased, inseparably attached to his name, entered the body of his youngest descendant and thus lived on in his family. Therefore the use of Old Akkadian names in the Old Assyrian period can be taken to indicate that many of the prominent Old Assyrian families proudly traced their ancestors back to Old Akkadians.

The most significant impact, however, which the Akkadians left in Assyria was ideological. Whereas in Babylonia the memory of the Sargonic kings was despised[1] and their actions condemned as offensive to their national god,[2] the Assyrians throughout their history cherished their memory and tried to emulate them. Whereas in Babylonia they were remembered as foreign conquerors, the later Assyrians thought of them as their very own. Foremost among the ideas which, in the eyes of later generations, were embodied by the kings of Akkad was the creation of a uni-

[1] §II, 3, 91 f.

[2] §II, 2, 14, no. 41; G, 8, 8 f; A. Falkenstein in *Z.A.* 57 (1965), 43 ff.

versal empire, comprising what later princes used to call *kiššat mātāti*, 'the totality of the countries'.[1] Rarely was a Babylonian king interested in 'widening the bounds of his country'; with the exception of some Kassites, who were influenced by Assyrian ideas, they did not use titles such as *šar kiššati*, 'king of the universe', *šar kibrāt erbettim*, 'king of the four regions (of the world)', etc. The Assyrians, on the contrary, were expansion-minded throughout their history. As will be pointed out in greater detail below, the time of the empire builders Sargon and Naram-Sin was for the Assyrians a golden age, for the eventual return of which they hoped at periodic intervals; whenever computations revealed that the time was approaching when a new universal empire would materialize comprising all the lands 'from the Upper Sea where the sun sets to the Lower Sea where the sun rises',[2] a king of Assyria chose the throne name Sargon in the belief that *nomen est omen*. The first Assyrian ruler who adopted both the title *šarrum* 'king' and the more ambitious and programmatic 'king of the universe' was Shamshi-Adad I, who actually assembled an empire of impressive proportions under his sceptre; the last was Nabonidus, king of Babylon, who tried to emulate his illustrious ancestor, Esarhaddon.

The idea of a universal empire as that created by the Akkadian kings and aimed at by subsequent generations of Assyrian rulers had its origin in the cult of the moon which, throughout Assyrian history, played an important role in the pantheon.[3] The moon was the prototype of a universal god in contrast to the various national deities. It is visible everywhere; it was worshipped and had sanctuaries wherever Semites settled or travelled. In southern Babylonia, Sin's holy city was Ur, on the fringe of the desert whence his original worshippers came. In Mesopotamia, the centre of moon cult was Harran. In the Lebanon, the moon was worshipped as Laban, 'The White One', as attested by Old Assyrian personal names such as Shū-Laban, Laban-na'da and the like. In Palestine, one of his holy cities was Hazor, in the Arabian peninsula among others Tēmā[4] and Hureidha.[5] Since it was assumed that each of the national deities bestowed upon the king of his choice the region which was the centre of his worship, the moon-god evidently could convey the entire Semitic world upon the king he selected. Nabonidus, when speaking of his royal ancestors, clearly expressed this idea: 'Esarhaddon, the king of Ashur, and Ashurbanipal, his son, upon whom Sin, the

[1] E.g. §11, 8, plates 26 ff., col. II, ll. 37 f. [2] §11, 12, 23, ll. 13 f.
[3] See below, p. 768. [4] §1, 11, 37 ff.; §11, 10, 155 f. [5] §11, 19.

king of the gods, bestowed the totality of the countries.'[1] Sargon the Younger, in turn, expressed the same idea in a prayer to Ningal, Sin's divine consort, by asking for 'the rule over all the inhabited places to the end of days'.[2] That the moon cult actually was popular under the Old Akkadian dynasty is evidenced by the name of the fourth king, Naram-Sin, which means 'The beloved one of Sin'.

The Assyrian rulers showed their reverence for Sargon and Naram-Sin not only by their conquests. The Babylonians bitterly resented it when a king built his residence in a city other than Babylon; this resentment is traceable from the earliest times down to the end of their empire: in the Chronicle concerning Sargon and Naram-Sin, they blame the founder of the Akkadian dynasty for having built, near Akkad, 'a likeness of Babylon'.[3] With the same bitterness they blamed Nabonidus, in the so-called Verse Account, for having built, in the far-off oasis-town of Tēmā, a palace as his residence like the palace of Babylon.[4] In fact, Nebuchadnezzar II prides himself on not having built for himself a residence outside of Babylon itself, not having embellished any holy city beyond Babylon.[5] The Assyrian practice, throughout the ages, differed radically from this narrow-minded nationalism. Whereas the kings of the Puzur-Ashur dynasty[6] appear to have resided at Ashur, Shamshi-Adad I transferred his residence far to the north, to Shubat-Enlil, in northern Mesopotamia.[7] That no one in Assyria resented this transfer can be concluded from the fact that Shamshi-Adad remained throughout Assyrian history one of the most beloved figures whose name was chosen by later princes over and over again, because it was a symbol of success and prosperity for the country. Other equally successful rulers built new residences such as Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, Kalkhu, Nineveh, Dūr-Sharrukēn, and from all that is known their subjects were happy and satisfied with their activities. In fact, far from being arbitrary, these changes in the royal residence appear to have been dictated by a religious principle. It was believed that the ten deities representing the moving and the fixed stars took turns in ruling the universe; and the earthly ruler of the 'totality of the countries' was assumed to reside in one of the cities dedicated to the cult of the deity whose turn it was to rule the world and its inhabitants. When Sargon of Akkad founded his

[1] §II, 8, plates 26 ff., col. II, ll. 37 f.
[2] §II, 11, 133, no. 7, l. 7.
[3] G, 8, 8, ll. 18 f.; §II, 2, 14, *sub* no. 41.
[4] §I, 11, 59.
[5] §I, 11, 38.
[6] See below, pp. 754 ff.
[7] See *C. A. H.* II[3], ch. I, sect. I; §I, 12, 331, n. 2.

empire, Ishtar, the patron goddess of the city of Akkad (Agade), was assumed to rule the universe.[1] When Shamshi-Adad established his residence at Shubat-Enlil, the rule of Enlil, which is alluded to in a birth-omen from Nineveh, was thought by him to have begun. Particularly characteristic was the belief in the dawning of the age of Ninurta or Shulmānu, the planet Saturn, whose holy cities comprised, among others, Jerusalem in the west and Kalkhu in Assyria. It was at that time that Kalkhu became the residence of the Assyrian kings and that royal names composed with theophorous elements alluding to the Black Planet became current in the dynasty, the most prominent examples being Shulmānu-ashared (Shalmaneser) I and his equally illustrious son, Tukulti-Ninurta I. When the rule was assumed to have again passed to the planet Venus, Nineveh became the royal residence, and several indications point to Harran, the moon-god's holy city, as the king's residence during the last decades of Assyrian rule when the moon-god's term was assumed to be imminent or to have begun. That here again the Assyrians perpetuated a belief common to the Semitic world but strange to the Babylonians is evidenced, *inter alia*, by the prophecy in Micah iv. 8 according to which its former domination would eventually return to Jerusalem. A personal name such as Palē-Shamash, borne in Babylonia under the Amorite dynasty, also bears witness to the common Semitic origin of this belief. It is likely that the length of each deity's rule was assumed to be 350 years, a span of time which will be discussed in greater detail below.[2] Eventually, however, the cycle was assumed to end with the moon-god's rule, which then would last for ever.

Further ways in which the Assyrian rulers showed their devotion to the principles presumed to have been laid down by Sargon of Akkad are based on the so-called *Legend of Sargon*.[3] In the second part of this composition, Sargon admonishes 'whichever king will arise after me' to repeat his exploits as the most noteworthy of which he lists an expedition to Dilmun (i.e. the island of Baḥrain in the Persian Gulf), the capture of the city of Dēr (today Badrah slightly more than one hundred miles north-east of Babylon), and the conquest of mighty mountains with the help of copper axes.[4] The first Assyrian king who emphasized in one of his inscriptions that he had heeded Sargon's advice is Ilushuma[5] who mentions not only that he established 'the free-

[1] G, 8, 3, l. 1.
[2] Pp. 741 ff.
[3] G, 8, 87 ff.
[4] §1, 14, 463 with note 276.
[5] More correctly Ilu-shumma; on the etymology see below, p. 767.

dom of movement of the Akkadians and of their children',[1] but also that he conquered the city of Dēr.[2] Several kings stressed their adherence to the principle of breaking through the mountains with copper axes which amounts, of course, to the creation of roads through the mountains establishing communications between various parts of the world. Evidently for an empire builder nothing is more important than communications between the various parts of his realm. Tiglath-pileser I mentions his doing so after having crossed the Tigris on his way to Armenia;[3] so does Ashur-bel-kala in his Annals.[4] Sargon the Younger, too, prides himself on having followed his older namesake's advice in his campaign against Urarṭu.[5] Tukulti-Ninurta I let it be known in one of his inscriptions[6] that he was familiar with Sargon's admonition.

The Old Akkadian period in Assyria ended in a catastrophe which is well attested both archaeologically and in literature. In the area of the Ishtar temple at Nineveh[7] as well as in the ruins of the same deity's shrine at Ashur[8] evidence of violent destruction following a conquest was clearly discernible. Literary evidence is contained in the *Legend of Naram-Sin*[9] which, as shown by the existence of the Old Babylonian version,[10] is obviously an early outgrowth of the Babylonians' wrath against the dynasty of Akkad. The story, in brief, tells that a strange-looking host, which was for good reasons identified with the Lullubi[11] (subsequently the eastern neighbours of the people of Nuzi), invaded Naram-Sin's realm, overrunning first Purushkhaddum in Asia Minor, penetrating then into northern Mesopotamia, a region which here, as frequently in the Old Babylonian period,[12] is called Subartu, taking the principal city, Shubat-Enlil. The invaders then conquered Gutium and Elam and finally Babylonia, where they eventually reached the Persian Gulf. That some sound historical information is contained in this tale can be gathered from the results of the excavations at Tell Brak, in the valley of the Hirmās river. They revealed, in the first place, that Naram-Sin of Akkad was in firm possession of northern Mesopotamia, having constructed an elaborate palace at the site of Tell Brak which was located on the caravan road linking Assyria with Asia

[1] §IV, 29, 115, ll. 49 ff. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] G, 3, 39, col. II, ll. 7 f. and 65, col. IV, l. 67; G, 2, 108 ff.
[4] §II, 22, 82, ll. 33 f. [5] §II, 21, l. 24.
[6] §II, 7, vol. I, no. 18, l. 7.
[7] §I, 16, 129. [8] G, 1, 74. [9] §II, 6; §II, 4.
[10] §II, 4. [11] §II, 6, 95. [12] §I, 12, 331, n. 2.

Minor. Several items discovered in the ruins of this palace were definitely imports from Asia Minor,[1] hence it is likely that the legends linking the Sargonic kings to the region of Purushkhaddum are historically well founded. The archaeological evidence at Tell Brak further reveals that Naram-Sin's palace was sacked by an invader and there is every reason to connect this sack with the invasion of the Lullubi. On their way from there to Gutium, Elam and Babylonia the barbarians naturally followed the course of the Tigris river, thus passing through Assyria and destroying both Nineveh and Ashur as they proceeded.

III. KING-LIST AND CHRONOLOGY

In many respects, Assyrian chronology is easier to reconstruct than Babylonian, because the Assyrians from the earliest periods on were deeply interested in chronology and therefore did themselves much of the work which the modern historian has to do when attempting to restore Babylonian chronology. The Assyrians' interest in history, which is traceable in their inscriptions from the Old Assyrian period down to the end of the empire, was prompted by the belief in the periodic recurrence of historical events. This belief, in turn, was based to all appearances on the assumption of an interconnexion of events on earth and the motion of the stars: since, owing to the large planetary periods, certain heavenly constellations recur at periodic intervals, events on earth were expected to repeat themselves periodically. Yet lack of precision obviously impaired the earliest astronomical observations, whence it is not surprising that round numbers which had a special magical appeal replaced the actual numbers of years of the planetary periods.

The oldest occurrence of this way of thinking is found under the Puzur-Ashur dynasty which immediately preceded the reign of Shamshi-Adad I and in Shamshi-Adad's own inscriptions. In his afore-quoted building inscription from the Ishtar temple at Nineveh,[2] Shamshi-Adad remarks that, since the end of the dynasty of Akkad, to which Manishtusu, the previous builder, had belonged, '7 *dāru*-periods' had elapsed. The length of this span which, according to Shamshi-Adad's computation, separated the dynasty of Akkad from 'the capture of Nurrugu' in the beginning of his own reign can be easily determined from the practice of later Assyrian kings to reconstruct sacred buildings after

[1] §11, 13, 29. [2] See above, p. 733, with n. 6.

350 years, or a multiple of this number, had passed since the previous construction or reconstruction. A particularly pertinent example is offered by the afore-quoted Annals of Tiglath-pileser I.[1] This king reports that the Anu-Adad temple at Ashur had fallen into decay and that King Ashur-dan, Tiglath-pileser's great-grandfather, demolished the old structure but refrained from rebuilding it because only 641 years had elapsed since the previous construction. After the structure had lain in ruins for another sixty years, so the text reports, which means altogether 701 years after the previous work, Tiglath-pileser himself proceeded with the reconstruction.

Among numerous other pertinent examples, that of Ashurbanipal's report on the restoration of E-khulkhul in Harran may be quoted. This building, according to the king's account,[2] had previously been restored by Shalmaneser, the son of Ashurnaṣirpal; its walls collapsed so that its reconstruction became necessary and it was dedicated in Ashurbanipal's accession year, 669 B.C. A glance at the king-list shows that exactly 350 years separate this year from the previous builder, Shalmaneser II, who died in 1019 B.C.[3] An even later example of the reckoning in 350-year periods is preserved in an inscription of Nabonidus who, naïvely, used Assyrian tradition in trying to reconstruct Babylonian history. He states that Hammurabi, the previous builder of the Shamash temple and the temple tower at Sippar, restored it '700 years before Burnaburiash'.[4]

Applying this evidence to Shamshi-Adad's inscription from the Ishtar temple at Nineveh, he obviously believed that the shrine which Manishtusu of Akkad had built was ripe for being reconstructed in his own day because 350 years had passed since the end of Akkad. That similar calculations had been carried out by Shamshi-Adad's predecessors can be inferred from their names, Sharrum-kēn (Sargon) I, his fourth predecessor, and this king's grandson, Naram-Sin of Assyria, Shamshi-Adad's second predecessor. The omission of the names of Sargon of Akkad's two sons and successors, Rimush and Manishtusu, shows conspicuous familiarity with the tradition according to which both of these kings met a violent death. Yet not only in Assyria the expectation of a new universal empire like that of the Old Akkadian kings was current in this period. Approximately during the first decade of Shamshi-Adad's reign a king named Naram-Sin ruled over Eshnunna.

[1] See above, p. 739, n. 3.
[2] §III, 20, 170 ff. and particularly 172, l. 51.
[3] Cf. §III, 22, 127.
[4] §I, 10, 238, ll. 20 ff.

The data necessary for such computations were ascertained by the Assyrians with the help of two compilations, the Assyrian king-list and the *līmum* or eponym canon. By co-ordinating these two lists Assyrian scholars had developed a workable system of recording events in their actual sequence at a time when in Babylonia the compilers of the so-called Sumerian king-list uncritically added the dynastic list of one city-state to that of another, enumerating them as if they had followed each other even if they had actually overlapped or even ruled simultaneously. The eponym canon was an outgrowth of the habit of the Assyrians of naming the years from an annual official, the *līmum*,[1] a term derived from a root meaning 'to circle, to encircle',[2] and hence denoting a 'cycle'. It has been shown that, in the Neo-Assyrian epoch, the office rotated among the high officials and governors of the various provinces of the vast Assyrian empire of those days.[3] In some cases, however, the lot seems to have decided who was to become *līmum*.[4] Consequently, a man could become eponym for the second time after a comparatively short interval.[5] In the older periods it appears that, rather than provincial governors, the *līmum*-officials were hereditary princes of some of the prominent and important Assyrian cities, a conclusion which was reached on the basis of the evidence concerning the eponym Ashur-mutakkil,[6] his father, Ashur-daiiān, and his son who were the rulers of the fortress city of Qabra on the Lesser Zab[7] and belonged to the time of Eriba-Adad I[8] and Ashur-uballiṭ.[9] At least from the Middle Assyrian period on the royal house was one of the families entitled to hold the eponym office; in the Old Assyrian period, however, there is no evidence to this effect, none of the rulers being mentioned as an eponym.

The Assyrians had two ways in which they transmitted the names of the successive eponyms. Each holder of the office received a stela which was erected beside that of his predecessor; the whole row extended over a large square in the city of Ashur, near the fortification wall. Each stela was inscribed with the name and the title of the respective official.[10] The other way of preserving the knowledge of the names and the sequence of the *līmum* officials consisted in inscribing clay tablets with their names, their

[1] Thus in Old and Middle Assyrian; only in late Assyrian a form *limmu* was used; see G, 13, 554.
[2] G, 13, 541.
[3] §III, 6, 6 ff.
[4] §III, 16, vol. 2, 230, ll. 174 f. and 231, n. 40.
[5] §III, 10, no. 437, l. 26.
[6] §III, 5, 23.
[7] §I, 13, 441, n. 3.
[8] Or rather Irība-Adad; see below, p. 753.
[9] §III, 12, 8 ff. and 24 f.
[10] §III, 1.

titles, and the most important event that took place during their year in office.[1] As persons such as businessmen, court officials and scribes dealt with numerous dated documents in their daily work, they obviously possessed tablets with the eponym list; the average citizen, however, who was only occasionally confronted with the necessity of ascertaining the number of years that had elapsed between two eponymies, could consult the row of stelae and simply count the number of stelae separating those of the two men in question.

The stelae excavated thus far cover only office holders in the Middle and early Neo-Assyrian periods; it is not known whether for the earlier eponyms any such monuments existed. However, the existence of clay tablets recording the names of the eponyms of the early Old Assyrian period can be inferred from a remark in the king-list according to which the names of the *līmum* officials whose tenure of office coincided with the reign of the rulers named in the pertinent section were 'eaten up'[2] (col. I, ll. 25–6), an expression referring to the surface of a clay tablet the script of which was rubbed off. This remark makes it obvious that the practice of naming the years from eponyms preceded by far the eighty-four officials known from the texts from Asia Minor.[3]

As regards the king-list, there exist three major copies of it representing what had become, in the Neo-Assyrian period, the 'standard version'. The oldest of the three, poorly preserved, ends with the year 912 B.C.[4] The second one, which was excavated at Dūr-Sharrukēn, modern Khorsabad, is much better preserved and was written in 738 B.C. by a scribe of the Ishtar temple of Arbela who copied it from a tablet at Ashur.[5] The latest, in the best state of preservation, ends with the year 722 B.C. and belonged to a priest of the Assyrian national god.[6] Among various other related compilations one deserves special mention because of the remarkable scholarly endeavour to which it bears witness. It lists in one column '82 kings of Assyria from the time of Erishu, the son of Ilushuma, to Ashurbanipal, the son of Esarhaddon', and in the second column '98 kings of Akkad from the time of Sumulael to Kandalanu' attempting to establish synchronisms between the two lists.[7]

The first section of the 'standard version' lists seventeen men

[1] §III, 23 and §III, 27. Additional lists are scattered throughout Assyriological publications.
[2] §III, 15, 515 f.; G, II, 279, n. 84.
[3] See above, p. 709.
[4] §III, 17.
[5] G, II and §III, 7.
[6] §III, 7.
[7] §III, 24 and 25.

who are summarized as '17 kings, tent-dwellers'. Of these seventeen men, the penultimate, Ushpia, is known as an early king of Assyria from two building inscriptions of later Assyrian kings, Shalmaneser I[1] (1272–1243 B.C.) and Esarhaddon[2] (680–669 B.C.), both of whom reconstructed the Ashur temple at Ashur. In accordance with the principles outlined before,[3] each of the two kings secured first the foundation stone of the building deposited by the previous builder in order to make sure that a full cycle of years had passed since a previous reconstruction. Both kings report that the first known builder of the principal national shrine of the Assyrians was Ushpia and that the next one was Erishum (more correctly, in this period, Irishum),[4] the son of Ilushuma; yet neither of the two subsequent builders, while taking great pains to determine as exactly as possible the intervals between Erishum, the following builder, Shamshi-Adad I, and themselves, attempts to date Ushpia of whom, however, at least one of the subsequent builders must have found a record. As regards the thirteenth of the seventeen tent-dwellers, Abazu, it has been suggested that he was the person who dedicated the afore-quoted spear point to Manishtusu, king of Akkad.[5] Upon closer examination, however, it turned out that the donor of the spear point was named Azuzu[6] and that therefore no chronological conclusions could be based upon his alleged occurrence in this section of the list. However, the name of the ninth tent-dweller, Didānu, furnishes the clue to the nature of the list of Ushpia's predecessors. In Genesis xxv.3, it is stated that a Dedan was the ancestor of the Ashurīm; by further making this Dedan a grandson of Abraham, the Jewish tradition obviously makes him the chieftain of a nomadic tribe which journeyed around with Abraham between Mesopotamia and Egypt. In fact, a second among the tent-dwellers, Khanū, who immediately follows Didānu, is definitely the tribal ancestor of the Khanians who are now well known from the Mari texts where they appear partly settled in the region of Terqa, but partly still roaming the adjoining desert as nomads. The name Kharkharu of the fifth tent-dweller admits a similar explanation. In the Neo-Assyrian period, Kharkhar was a province of Media;[7] as it is known from the Mari texts that several of the nomadic tribes passed into east-Tigridic territory and then returned to Mesopotamia, so that geographical

[1] §II, 7, vol. I, no. 13, col. III, ll. 32 ff.
[2] §III, 4, 3, col. III, ll. 16 ff.
[3] See above, p. 741.
[4] See below, p. 767.
[5] §II, 24, 85.
[6] §III, 2, 2; cf. §II, 9, 109, n. 206.
[7] G, 10 vol. II, 462, *s.v.*

names such as Idamaraz, Iamutbal, Karana, etc., chosen for such tribes occur both east and west of the Tigris, the name Kharkhar may well be that of another tribal ancestor whose name remained attached to the Median province. Imṣu (no. 7 in the list) is a younger variant of the Old West Semitic personal name which occurs as Iamṣum in the Mari texts.[1] Since the king-list does not claim any family relationship between the fifteen predecessors of Ushpia, it thus becomes apparent that the tent-dwellers were not successive Assyrian kings but the ancestors of the nomadic tribes which constituted the Assyrian nation. They thus closely parallel the twelve sons of Jacob who figure in Jewish tradition as the ancestors of the twelve nomadic tribes of which the Israelite nation was composed. By placing Ushpia, the first known builder of the national shrine, at the end of the section of tribal ancestors, the original compiler of this part of the king-list wanted to indicate that the construction of the Ashur temple at Ashur marked the end of the nomadic period of the Assyrian people; he probably visualized Ushpia as the actual founder of the Semitic city of Ashur. In attempting to date this period of Assyrian history it must be kept in mind (1) that it must have preceded the Sargonic period, because, as was mentioned before, the Old Akkadian texts from Nuzi attest the use of the city name Ashur and thus indirectly the worship of the god Ashur for that period; and (2) that the extant archaeological remains at Ashur attest a period of about two hundred years prior to the Sargonic period.

The second section of the king-list must have been copied from a royal inscription, for it is drawn up in the style of the Old and Middle Assyrian texts in which a king lists not only his father but several of his more distant ancestors. Typical in this respect are the inscriptions of Ashur-uballiṭ I (1362–1327 B.C.): 'Ashur-uballiṭ, priest-king of Ashur, (is) the son of Eriba-Adad; Eriba-Adad, priest-king of Ashur, (was) the son of Ashur-bel-nisheshu; Ashur-bel-nisheshu, priest-king of Ashur, (was) the son of Ashur-nirari....' In this way Ashur-uballiṭ proceeds backwards for seven generations to Puzur-Ashur III.[2] In exactly the same manner the king-list begins with an Aminu, son of Ila-kabkabu whose ancestors he traces back for nine generations until he reaches Apiashal, the son of Ushpia, which means the two men who terminated the tent-dweller section. The king-list summarizes these men with the remark: '10 kings who were their ancestors'. The question has, of course, been asked by modern scholars whose ancestors the compiler of the list had in mind. It

[1] §111, 9, 41. [2] G, 4, 42 ff., nos. 4 and 5.

was suggested on the strength of the name Ila-kabkabu (the West Semitic reading of the name being well assured by brick inscriptions from Ashur),[1] that they were the ancestors of Shamshi-Adad I who was the son of an Ila-kabkabu.[2] Yet it is difficult to see why the compiler should not have inserted Shamshi-Adad's ancestors immediately before Shamshi-Adad, but should have separated two allegedly consecutive generations by at least ten other persons. Moreover, the name Ila-kabkabu is not unique, other bearers in the period of continuous West Semitic immigration into Mesopotamia being well attested. Since, on the other hand, the list continues with a section beginning with Sulili, the son of Aminu, Aminu being the last of the 'ancestors', it need not be doubted that the men listed in inverse order were the ancestors of this Sulili. The reason for this insertion is not difficult to guess: the dynasty which begins with Sulili was eventually overthrown and replaced by Shamshi-Adad I who, in turn, was succeeded by his son, Ishme-Dagan. After Ishme-Dagan's death, a lengthy struggle between competing contenders appears to have taken place and it is therefore possible that a partisan of the Sulili–Puzur-Ashur dynasty should have inserted the long line of their ancestors in order to prove that they were the legitimate successors of Ushpia.

At some place prior to the accession of this dynasty the king-list must be assumed to be incomplete, the gap spanning the period when Assyria was under the domination of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Evidence to this effect is furnished by an inscription unearthed in the ruins of the Ishtar temple at Ashur in which a Zariqum who calls himself 'governor' (*šakkanakkum*) of Ashur dedicates a chapel in the temple to the goddess Bēlat-ekallim for the life of Amar-Sin, king of Ur.[3] Since no king of this name figures in the king-list and since, moreover, the two authors of dedicatory inscriptions to kings of Akkad, Azuzu and Ititi, are not mentioned either in this compilation, it is a legitimate conclusion that the Assyrian king-list comprises only sovereigns who were responsible only to the god Ashur and not to any human being. This conclusion is in line with later sections of the 'standard version' where gaps are attributable to foreign domination.[4]

That the group of kings headed by Sulili, the son of Aminu, actually began their rule in the period of Ibbi-Sin when the power of the Third Dynasty of Ur declined rapidly is well supported by

[1] §III, 13; §II, 24, 94, n. 57.
[2] §II, 9, 33 ff.
[3] G, 4, 2 f., no. 11; §III, 8.
[4] See below, p. 749.

the fact that Kikkia, the second ruler of this group, is mentioned in two building inscriptions of later kings, namely Ashur-rīm-nishēshu[1] and Shalmaneser III.[2] Whereas the former king speaks of Kikkia only as the earliest known builder of a 'wall' which he himself renewed, the latter specifies, though not in the same text in which he mentions Kikkia, that the wall was that of the city of Ashur,[3] a conclusion which is confirmed by the fact that the pertinent inscription was unearthed in the foundation of the old fortification wall, north of the temenos.[4] Numerous instances from all periods of Assyrian and Babylonian history demonstrate that the construction of a fortification wall around a capital city was the first, and perhaps partly symbolic, action of a prince who had won his independence; inversely, the destruction of the wall of a city always followed a conquest, even if it was a matter of peaceful surrender to an overlord.[5] It is therefore apparent that Kikkia was the first ruler who succeeded in throwing off the domination of the kings of Ur and in restoring Assyrian independence. Even though some setbacks appear to have occurred—Shalmaneser III lists among the early builders of the fortification wall Puzur-Ashur, the founder of the illustrious Old Assyrian dynasty, and Ikunum, his fourth successor[6]—Assyria rose rapidly to the rank of a major power once its independence was firmly established.[7] The king-list enumerates, as Kikkia's successors, four kings, including Ilushuma, and summarizes these six princes with the afore-quoted remark that the *līmum*-officials who held office under their rule were 'eaten up'.[8] That this damage to the list was of comparatively late date is shown by the fact that, at the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242–1206 B.C.), the length of Ilushuma's reign was known. This ruler, in reporting about his restoration of the sanctuary of the goddess Ishtar Ashuritu, the consort of the national god, relates that since the previous restoration by Ilushuma 720 years had gone by. Since, as will be outlined presently by the example of Esarhaddon's report on the early builders of the Ashur temple at Ashur,[9] it was the practice to figure from the beginning of one builder's rule to the beginning of the next builder's rule, it is apparent that Tukulti-Ninurta comprised in his figure the number of regnal years of Ilushuma. As he himself, however, did not complete the

[1] G, 4, 34 ff., no. XIV.
[2] §III, 16, 1, 391, l. 17.
[3] *Ibid.* 260, rev., l. 6.
[4] G, 4, p. 35, n. 11.
[5] §III, 11, 267, n. 1; 280; §III, 14, 30 with n. 4.
[6] §III, 16, 1, 391, ll. 17 f.
[7] See below, pp. 754 ff.
[8] See above, p. 743 with n. 2.
[9] See below, pp. 748 and 750 f.

sanctuary within his accession year, it is apparent that he figured twenty-one years for Ilushuma's reign and left one year for himself to complete the project, thus allowing, as customary, two 350-year periods between the previous builder's death and his own inauguration of the new sanctuary. Hence the exact number of Ilushuma's regnal years was known to him as twenty-one.

In the following section, the 'standard version' enumerates the six princes separating Ilushuma's rule from that of Shamshi-Adad I. Beginning with Erishum I, the list specifies for each of the subsequent rulers how many years he 'exerted the kingship' (*šarrutta epuš*). In doing so, the compiler, in accordance with the general Assyrian practice, used the post-dating method, counting the year in which a ruler died and his successor acceded to the throne as the last full year of the king who died. The next king's first, accordingly, was the first full year following his accession to the throne. A certain difficulty arose, of course, in cases where a king did not survive his accession year. In these instances the king-list writes his name followed by the remark: *tuppišu šarrutta epuš*. While the exact meaning of this expression is unknown, it can be shown from several instances that the Assyrians interpreted it as meaning 'he exerted the kingship for less than a year'.

In the section beginning with Erishum I, the number of his own regnal years, namely forty, is the only one preserved in the extant copies of the list; those of the other immediate predecessors of Shamshi-Adad I are broken or rubbed off so as to be illegible. However, the two afore-quoted building inscriptions from the Ashur temple at Ashur[1] make it possible to recover at least the sum of the lost numbers. Shalmaneser I reports that from the reign of Erishum to that of the next builder, Shamshi-Adad I, 159 years had elapsed.[2] Esarhaddon, on the other hand, lists the same lapse of time as 126 years.[3] If it is taken into consideration that Shamshi-Adad, according to the king-list, ruled over Assyria for thirty-three years, it becomes apparent that the two reports agree in so far as Shalmaneser includes these thirty-three years whereas Esarhaddon's number excludes them. It results that the five successors of Erishum I ruled together for eighty-six years.

Shamshi-Adad I, as was mentioned before, was one of the most beloved and celebrated rulers who ever occupied the Assyrian throne. The 'standard version' acknowledges this special condition by describing, in a short annalistic excursus, this great

[1] See above, p. 744.
[2] See §II, 7, vol. I, no. 13, col. III, ll. 36–41.
[3] §III, 4, 3, col. III, l. 22.

empire-builder's career prior to his accession to the throne. It then continues to relate that 'he caused' his predecessor, Erishum II, 'to arise from the throne, and exerted the kingship for thirty-three years.' Under Shamshi-Adad's son and successor, Ishme-Dagan I, Assyria experienced a period of decline which culminated, at the end of his rule, in a catastrophe the nature of which is not known. The difficulties which Assyria encountered in these years are clearly reflected in the king-list tradition. In the 'standard version', one list gives Ishme-Dagan forty regnal years, the other fifty. With him, however, it ends the Shamshi-Adad dynasty and continues with an Ashur-dugul who is characterized as the 'son of a nobody', which means a man not of royal descent. It continues to state that, during the six years of his rule, six other 'sons of a nobody' arose, but not one of them ruled beyond his accession year. The last of these six is Adasi, whom all the subsequent Assyrian rulers regarded as the founder of their dynasty. However, the 'standard version' here leaves out rulers who are attested by at least some fragmentary king-lists from Ashur. One of these precious fragments[1] draws a line after Erishum II in order to indicate that with him the dynasty ends; it then lists Shamshi-Adad and Ishme-Dagan, followed by Mut-Ashkur who is known from the Mari texts as Ishme-Dagan's son and heir-apparent and, as the fourth member of the dynasty, Talmu-Sh[arri], 'Great is the King', a name well known from the Nuzi texts. This Hurrian name of Mut-Ashkur's son and successor is not surprising if it is remembered that, in a desperate attempt to end an extended war with King Zaziya of the Hurrian tribe of Turukku, Ishme-Dagan arranged a marriage between Zaziya's daughter and his own son, Mut-Ashkur, the future king.[2] That this Hurrian on the royal throne who was considered a foreigner and probably maintained himself only with the help of troops from his maternal homeland, Turukku, infuriated the Assyrians can be gathered from two pieces of evidence. There is, in the first place, a fragmentary inscription from Ashur in which a certain Puzur-Sin, who calls himself with the usual title 'priest-king of Ashur,' prides himself on having removed from the throne a man of 'foreign seed, of non-Assyrian flesh',[3] who is further said to have been a descendant of Shamshi-Adad. Since this same Puzur-Sin reports that he demolished this foreigner's palace and built instead a sanctuary, he must have been able to maintain himself on the throne for at least some years. The second piece of

[1] §III, 19, no. 14; §II, 9, 31.
[2] §III, 3, vol. II, no. 40.
[3] §II, 9, 32.

evidence is the lack in the 'standard version' of any reference to either Mut-Ashkur or Talmu-Sharri, which lack is well in line with the afore-stated principle of omitting men who were dependent upon a foreign ruler.

It thus becomes apparent that the rule of at least three kings following Ishme-Dagan I, *viz.* this latter's two descendants and Puzur-Sin, is missing in the 'standard version'. In order to ascertain the correct, or at least approximately correct, datings of the Old Assyrian kings, sources other than the 'standard version' must therefore be used; this all the more since there is some evidence to indicate that the 'standard version' is incomplete in still another period, namely when Assyria was part of the empire of the kings of Khanigalbat. With the help of building-inscriptions of various Assyrian kings who, as was stated before, were very thorough in ascertaining the interval between two successive reconstructions of a sacred building, it can be shown that, besides the 'standard version', there existed a more complete, and therefore 'longer' list of kings. In starting this analysis it must be pointed out that both Shalmaneser I and Esarhaddon in their afore-quoted inscriptions dealing with the reconstruction of the Ashur temple at Ashur used the 'standard version'. The basic information with the help of which the rule of these two kings can be dated is provided by the entry in the eponym canon that in the month of Siwan of the ninth year of king Ashur-dan III an eclipse of the sun took place. Astronomical computation furnished several possible dates of this eclipse, but by comparison with certain data contained in Ptolemy's canon of Neo-Babylonian rulers and the mention of lunar eclipses in various sources it could be determined beyond doubt that the solar eclipse mentioned in the eponym canon was that of 15 June 763 B.C. Starting from this date it is possible to determine, with the help of the 'standard version' and the eponym canon, the reigns from Ashur-uballiṭ I (1362–1327 B.C.) down to the end of Ashurbanipal's reign. Shalmaneser I reckons 580 years from the beginning of Erishum's reign to his own. Deducting from this the afore-quoted 159 years from the beginning of Erishum to the end of Shamshi-Adad I, one obtains 421 years from the end of Shamshi-Adad to the beginning of Shalmaneser I. If minor differences in the various copies of the 'standard version' are taken into consideration, one obtains 422 years for this interval,[1] whence it is apparent that Shalmaneser used a king-list almost identical with the extant ones. Esarhaddon, in turn, reckons 434 years from Shamshi-Adad

[1] G, II, 2, 86 f.

to Shalmaneser, having probably reckoned fifty years for Ishme-Dagan I instead of the 40 years of the Khorsabad version. There are, however, building inscriptions in which the computation is based on a different king-list. One of these is the aforementioned inscription of Shalmaneser's son and successor, Tukulti-Ninurta I,[1] in which he gives the interval between his own reign and that of Ilushuma as 720 years, figuring, as was pointed out before, from the beginning of Ilushuma's reign to which he assigned twenty-one years.[2] Deducting from the remaining 699 years the 159 years which, according to Shalmaneser, separated the beginning of Ilushuma's successor, Erishum I, from the end of the reign of Shamshi-Adad I, one obtains 540 years for the interval from the end of Shamshi-Adad to the beginning of Tukulti-Ninurta I. Accounting, furthermore, for the thirty regnal years of Shalmaneser, Tukulti-Ninurta's reckoning yields 510 years for the interval from the end of Shamshi-Adad to the beginning of Shalmaneser for which, as was just pointed out, the latter king reckoned 421 years. Since it is obvious that Tukulti-Ninurta was well acquainted with the king-list perused by his father and the computation contained in his father's inscription, it is apparent that he made use of a king-list which contained eighty-nine years more than the 'standard version'. The reason why, among the two available king-lists, he chose the longer one is easy to grasp if the significance of the 700-year span of time is kept in mind. In terms of the Christian Era, Tukulti-Ninurta's dating indicates for the end of Shamshi-Adad's reign the year 1782 (i.e. 1242 + 540) B.C. Taking into consideration the one-year leeway which the kings themselves allowed in reckoning the interval between their own rule and that of the previous builder, the year adopted for Shamshi-Adad's death in these pages is 1783 B.C.

Exactly the same dates as those from the inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I are obtained with the help of the chronological data contained in the afore-discussed report of Tiglath-pileser I on his restoration of the Anu-Adad temple.[3] He reckons 701 years from his own reign to that of Shamshi-Adad, the previous builder; as he ruled from 1114 to 1076 B.C., his computation and that of his great-grandfather, Ashur-dan, yield the year 1815 for the beginning of Shamshi-Adad's reign.

Thus the king-list perused by these rulers of the twelfth century yields the years 1815 to 1783 for the thirty-three years

[1] See above, pp. 747 f.
[2] See above, p. 748.
[3] See above, p. 741, n. 1.

of Shamshi-Adad's rule. It will be noted that the complete correspondence between their date and that of Tukulti-Ninurta I makes it clear that these two rulers based their computation on the same king-list. The only difficulty resides in the naming by Tiglath-pileser of Shamshi-Adad, the son of Ishme-Dagan, as the previous builder; yet if it is assumed that his king-list was of the type of the afore-mentioned small fragment from Ashur, mentioning four members of the Shamshi-Adad dynasty instead of only two of the 'standard version', this error is easily explained, because this list does not state the kings' patronymics.

IV. THE OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD

Unlike Babylonia, Assyria is not a naturally rich country. The narrow Tigris valley with its comparatively high mountains on both banks yielded hardly enough agricultural products to support its population. Yet being, in contrast to the sedentary Sumerians and Hurrians, the descendants of a nomadic, which means a travelling population, the Assyrians looked beyond the narrow borders of their own land in order to supplement their resources by trading with other countries. It goes without saying that, in order to carry on a profitable trade with other nations, the Assyrians had to have products of their own which they could exchange for food or other foreign merchandise. One such product was woollen textiles, in the mass production, the spinning, weaving, and dyeing of which they appear to have developed an early lead over other peoples. Sheep could easily be raised in the hilly region along the banks of the Tigris river. A certain amount of trade could also be carried on, and actually was, by buying foreign merchandise and re-selling it to others, transporting the goods over long distances. It is particularly significant and not due to a mere coincidence that the oldest private Assyrian documents were unearthed at Nuzi[1] and attest the commercial activity of the Assyrians there as well as in Arrapkha.[2] Familiar Old Assyrian names such as Puzur-Ashur and Sin-rabi leave no doubt about the nationality of the businessmen. That they, like subsequently the merchants in Asia Minor, came from the city of Ashur can be inferred from the typical reference *ina ālim*, 'in the City (*par excellence*)',[3] a manner of speaking about the city of Ashur which is familiar not only from the documents from Asia

[1] §II, 14, nos. 223–7.
[2] *Ibid.* no. 224, ll. 1 and 7.
[3] *Ibid*, no. 227, rev., l. 1.

Minor but also from the Shamshi-Adad correspondence excavated at Mari.[1] The persons with whom they traded were local men, as can be gathered from names such as Tishpak-bani which was borne by a person described as a resident of Arrapkha.[2] The mention of a caravan[3] referred to by the usual Old Assyrian term suggests an exchange of merchandise on a considerable scale. It is further important to note that, scanty as the available material is, it still permits us to conclude from certain linguistic features that the Old Assyrian letters from Nuzi are slightly older than the oldest texts from Asia Minor. Aside from the archaic genitive form *a-ḫa-im* to which attention was called years ago,[4] the spelling *i-ir-dá-kà*,[5] 'your servant', instead of the more conventional Assyrian *erdaka*[6] shows that the shift from *i* to *e* before *r* had not even begun at the time when the pertinent letter from Nuzi was written. This is a very characteristic feature of the archaic Assyrian language; King Erishum's scribes, for instance, spell their royal lord's name consistently with an initial *i* and not with the *e* used by the late scribes of the 'standard version' of the king-list, who probably no longer understood the name.[7] It is not without interest to note that, at least in the Middle Assyrian period, the scribes were well aware of this difference in the pronunciation between the older language and their own. The royal scribe who wanted to use an archaic spelling wrote *I-ri-ba-^{d}Ad-ád* when writing the name of the father of Ashur-uballiṭ I.[8] In the latest texts from the older level of Old Assyrian tablets from Kanesh, on the other hand, the shift from *i* to *e* before *r* and *ḫ* is in its early stages.

In consideration of these linguistic features it appears therefore reasonable to place the Old Assyrian texts from Nuzi slightly before those from Asia Minor, which means either in the early years of Erishum's long reign or toward the end of that of Ilushuma. The fact that they possibly antedate the penetration of Asia Minor which, as was seen, began on a large scale in the later years of Erishum's reign[9] makes it significant that one of the two fairly well-preserved letters mentions a payment of *x* minas of silver,[10] while the other one speaks of two items of gold[11] the larger of which amounted to no less than one third mina and five shekels, which is equivalent to almost half pound of gold. Moreover,

[1] §I, 13, 444, n. 2.
[2] §II, 14, no. 224, l. 2.
[3] *Ibid.* ll. 9 and 15; cf. §IV, 19, 454.
[4] §IV, 19, 459 with note 35 followed by §IV, 1, 68, n. 24.
[5] §II, 14, no. 223, l. 5.
[6] §IV, 26, 271.
[7] For the meaning of the name see below, p. 767.
[8] §II, 8, plate 16, l. 26.
[9] See above, pp. 708 f.
[10] §II, 14, no. 223, l. 18.
[11] *Ibid.* no. 224, ll. 6 and 9.

mention is made of several 'hundreds' of copper said to have been paid out in Arrapkha.[1] Thus these letters exhibit one of the features which are a most striking characteristic of the Old Assyrian texts from Asia Minor, namely the great wealth in precious and other metals in the possession of private individuals which bears no comparison with the corresponding amounts mentioned in contemporary Old Babylonian documents. Since the excavator of the archaic levels of Nineveh stresses the paucity of metals in the early periods of Assyrian history,[2] the question arises as to the source of this wealth. Whereas the gold is easy to trace as coming from the Nuzi region where placer gold was recovered from the river Zab and its affluents and where occasionally real estate taxes were paid in gold,[3] the question still remains as to how the Assyrian merchants got this gold and the large amount of silver into their possession. As military might never creates wealth but is rather the consequence of the accumulation of wealth in a country, one must look for a technical discovery having, as so often in history, created the wealth which, in turn, produced the political power of a nation. The texts from Asia Minor suggest the nature of this discovery: it was the production of silver first from lead ore and subsequently from copper ore. With an abundant supply of lead in their own country and thus (once the discovery that it contains silver was made) a wealth of silver in their hands, the Assyrian businessmen could penetrate every foreign market they wished.

There is actually evidence to show that the penetration of foreign markets was the guiding principle of the Assyrian rulers prior to Shamshi-Adad I. Little is known so far of Puzur-Ashur whom his three successors, Shallim-akhum, Ilushuma, and Erishum, name as their ancestor. He rebuilt the fortification wall of Ashur and thus appears to have firmly established Assyria's independence which, after Kikkia, appears to have been temporarily lost again. An inscription of his son and successor, Shallim-akhum, was discovered at Ashur in the oldest level of the courtyard of the Ashur temple.[4] It relates that the god Ashur had requested him to build a temple and that he complied with this order 'for his own life and the life of his city', a formula which recurs in all the building inscriptions of the period prior to Shamshi-Adad. It is a further characteristic of all the royal inscriptions of this period that the kings do not use the title 'king' (*šarrum*), but call themselves *iššiakkum*[5] of the city of Ashur.

[1] §II, 14, no. 224, ll. 7 f. [2] §I, 16, 145. [3] E.g. §IV, 11, nos. 228 and 229.
[4] G, 4, 4 ff. [5] Spelled out in §IV, 12, 224, l. 4.

This title denotes in Babylonia a city-ruler who exercises his functions in the name of an overlord bearing the title 'king'. The use in Assyria fully agrees with this basic meaning, the only difference being that the overlord in Assyria was the divine ruler, the title king being, in this period, strictly reserved for the national god, Ashur. 'Ashur is king, (the earthly ruler's name) is Ashur's *iššiakkum*' is a kind of credo which occurs on the seal of the afore-discussed[1] Assyrian prince of Kanesh[2] as well as in the inscription of Erishum to be discussed presently. Equally characteristic are several letters found in Kanesh which the king himself had addressed to some of the prominent merchants of this city; in the introductory clause of these letters, the ruler used for himself the modest title *waklum*, 'overseer'. The reluctance to use the title 'king' sharply distinguishes the Assyrians from the Babylonians, who believed that, in the beginning of all things, 'kingship descended from heaven'.[3] It is, on the other hand, a feature which the Assyrians share with the Israelites and other peoples descended from nomads; as is known from the Mari texts, the nomads called their chieftains 'fathers' so that, for instance, the heads of the various clans constituting the tribe of the Khanians were 'the fathers of Khana'.[4]

It is not without interest to note in this connexion that at least some of the linguistically Sumerianized Amorites who ruled in Babylonia between the Sargonic period and the rise of Assyria did not use for themselves the title 'king' either; Gudea of Lagash, for instance, speaks of his god as 'king' and of his goddess as 'queen', but for himself he uses the more modest title 'city-ruler'. The theme of Shallim-akhum's inscription that the god Ashur demanded a sanctuary which he, the earthly ruler, hastened to build is another trait which the Assyrians of the Old Assyrian period shared with those Amorite princes of Babylonia. The most detailed description of the manner in which the earthly ruler received such an order in a dream-vision is contained in the famous *Cylinder A* of Gudea of Lagash;[5] pictorial representations of such visions are very numerous, too,[6] one of the most famous being that of Ur-Nammu of Ur receiving from the moon-god the order to build his sanctuary at Ur.[7]

[1] See above, pp. 710 f.

[2] This is perhaps the place to state that, in so far as Old Assyrian is concerned, the name of this city was Kanish and not Kanesh as in the Hittite sources. Except for one of the latest level II tablets, the name is always written *Kà-ni-iš*, *iš* and *eš* being carefully distinguished by the Old Assyrian scribes.

[3] §IV, 9, 70, l. 1. [4] §IV, 4, 15, l. 29.

[5] G, 16, 90 ff.

[6] Cf. below, pp. 767 f.

[7] §IV, 14, planche 1.

Shallim-akhum's son and successor, Ilushuma (1962–1942 B.C.), was the first king of Assyria who had the power to take a hand in Babylonian affairs. In order to understand this development, a few data of contemporary Babylonian history must be called to mind. After the downfall of the Third Dynasty of Ur, two powers that had been allies against Ibbi-Sin, shared the spoils of their victory, namely Kazallu in northern Babylonia and Isin in the south. One of the kings of Kazallu was Sumuditana, who is known from tablets from Kish to have been the overlord of that city. Evidence to this effect comes from contracts in which the oath was sworn by Sumuditana and Numushda, the patron god of Kazallu.[1] With Sumuditana's death, however, Kish succeeded in freeing itself from the supremacy of Kazallu; for in the year named from Sumuditana's death, the oath was sworn by a Iawium and Zababa, the patron god of Kish.[2] At the same time as Iawium, Sumuabum of Babylon made himself independent of Kazallu, constructing a fortification wall around his city; this event gave its name to Sumuabum's first two regnal years as independent king of Babylon and to Iawium's second and third, the oath in these two years being sworn by Iawium and Zababa.[3] Yet after about nine years of independence,[4] Kish was conquered by a certain Manana as attested by several year names: First, the oath was sworn by both Manana and Nanna and Zababa and Iawium,[5] the year being named 'Manana seized the throne'.[6] There followed a year 'after that when Manana seized the throne',[7] and finally a year 'Manana became king',[8] the reference obviously being to his having seized the throne at Kish. That Manana was a foreign conqueror results from the fact that under his rule Iawium's real estate buyer Ṣisu-nawirat was replaced by a Shumshunuwatar, and that the oath in the contracts by Zababa and Iawium was replaced by an oath by Nanna and Manana. After Kish had fallen to Manana, Sumuabum could not maintain himself on his throne for any length of time. A date formula from Eshnunna reports that 'Sumuabum was driven away to Dēr'.[9] Since many other date formulae of Manana and his successors have come to

[1] §IV, 10, 101, *sub* K, and §IV, 13, no. 1, ll. 15 f.

[2] §IV, 25, no. 3, ll. 13 and 24.

[3] §IV, 25, no. 4; for the year name also §IV, 13, no. 11.

[4] Besides the three years just listed, §IV, 28, 193 *sub* nos. 7, 8 (2 years), 10, 11 and §IV, 10, 100, *sub* D.

[5] §IV, 10, 99; §IV, 13, no. 7, ll. 12 f.

[6] §IV, 10, 279, *sub* F 51; §IV, 25, no. 5, ll. 8 ff.; §IV, 13, no. 7, l. 25: traces of name Manana visible on photograph.

[7] §IV, 23, 2, 76, *sub* gg.

[8] §IV, 13, no. 16; §IV, 23, 2, 76, *sub* hh.

[9] §IV, 6, 191, *sub* no. 113.

light at Kish and other sites,[1] there can be no doubt that both Kish and Babylon remained subjected to the rule of this dynasty for at least one generation. In fact, a prosopographic investigation into the contemporary dated documents from Sippar, Maradda, and Dilbat reveals that Sumuabum and Sumulael, the second independent king of Babylon, who again started his rule by constructing the fortification wall, were separated from each other by at least one generation.[2]

The afore-mentioned date formula from Eshnunna suggests at the same time the place of origin of the Manana dynasty. Dēr was the capital of Iamutbal, a state which, as is well known from an inscription of Kudur-Mabuk, a later conqueror coming from Dēr, was devoted to the cult of the moon-god Nanna or Sin. It is well in line with the conclusion that Manana's dynasty originated in Iamutbal that one of his successors was named Sumu-Iamutbal.[3]

It was, to all appearances, this dynasty of Dēr in which Ilushuma saw a danger to free communications and against which, therefore, he undertook his campaign. In his brick inscription from the temple of Ishtar at Ashur,[4] in the passage quoted above,[5] he lists Dēr as one of the cities which he opened for trade to 'the Akkadians and their children'. It is likely that the 'Akkadian' king in whose favour he acted was Sumuabum. This identification suggests itself not only because the catch-line of the afore-cited Chronicle concerning Sargon and Naram-Sin[6] makes the two kings contemporaries, but also because there is at least one year name from Sippar from Sumuabum's rule which, being in Akkadian and not included in the list of his year names as king of Babylon,[7] indicates that he ruled as a vassal king of Kazallu long before he and Iawium made themselves independent. The absence from Sumuabum's as well as from Iawium's list of year names of a formula stating that either of them became king confirms the conclusion that the accession to the throne of both men preceded, possibly by a considerable number of years, their first year as independent rulers.

Ilushuma's reference to his providing the Akkadians with copper is significant in more than one respect; primarily because it shows that he had enough copper at his disposal to provide for his own needs and in addition sell some to his Akkadian friends, obviously in exchange for merchandise of which he was short.

[1] §IV, 22, 1, p. 212; §IV, 23.
[2] §IV, 3, 102*a*.
[3] §IV, 21.
[4] §IV, 29.
[5] See above, p. 708.
[6] G, 8, 14, l. 14.
[7] §IV, 27, no. 1, left edge; no. 2, left edge.

It further indicates that he did not hesitate to arm the people of northern Babylonia, of whose loyalty he must have been fully certain. In fact the friendship and co-operation between the First Dynasty of Babylon and the Assyrians extended over many generations; the last testimony is Hammurabi's campaign to Ashur and Nineveh, which was directed against the king of Eshnunna and in the course of which he recovered the gods of both cities and restored them to Ishme-Dagan.[1] Was Sumuabu, whose name appears as *Su-abu* in the afore-mentioned chronicle, a descendant of the *Su-abu* who figures as no. 11 among the tribal ancestors in the first section of the Assyrian king-list? Or did the Assyrians see in these kings of Babylon the successors of the dynasty of Akkad?

The question remains as to the origin of Ilushuma's abundant supply of copper. As the evidence discussed previously indicates that Asia Minor was opened to Assyrian trade only at the time of Erishum,[2] the copper is likely to have come from the famous mine of Ergani Maden, where a very high-grade copper is said to have been mined in antiquity.[3] As it contains some tin, it could be used as bronze for making weapons without any additions. It is probably this site which the Old Assyrian merchants knew as Kharāna,[4] and to which they referred not only as the place of origin of copper but also as a station on the caravan road between Ashur and Kanesh,[5] located close to the point where the caravans crossed the Euphrates river into Asia Minor. Its possession by Ilushuma would explain not only his ample supply of copper and that of the merchants doing business at Nuzi, but it would suggest that this was the gateway through which, one generation later, the penetration of Asia Minor, both commercial and partly also military, took place.

To judge by the afore-discussed events in Babylonia, Ilushuma's attempt to keep the Manana dynasty of Iamutbal in check does not appear to have met with lasting success. It is also worth noting that his name was never chosen again by an Assyrian king, which tends to show that posterity did not consider him a successful ruler. The restoration of the temple of Ishtar of Ashur[6] is the only major construction of his that is known.

His son Erishum (1941–1902 B.C.), on the contrary, must have been an outstanding ruler. His most far-reaching decision was alluded to before; it was he who decided to leave the initiative for commercial transactions on a large scale entirely to his

[1] §1, 12, 350 f.
[2] See above, pp. 708 f.; also §IV, 7, 48.
[3] §IV, 2, 44.
[4] §IV, 20, 22, n. 95.
[5] *Ibid.*; §IV, 7, 118.
[6] See above, pp. 747 and 751.

individual subjects which means, in modern terms, he initiated, or at least perfected, the first experiment of free enterprise on a large scale. To be sure, there were various public institutions such as the administrations of the major temples, and that of the capital city, and the king himself, who took part in the exchange of merchandise between Assyria and Asia Minor. But the main financing was done by private bankers who, accordingly, bore the main risk of the long haul of merchandise from Ashur to the various cities in Asia Minor, but who also earned considerable profits if the transaction was successful. On principle, the business was carried out as follows: The banker entrusted a certain amount of capital, frequently two minas of gold or a multiple of this amount, to a commercial traveller or one of the merchants who set out from Ashur to settle for several years in the distant province. The recipient of the capital pledged himself to return twice the amount which was designated as his 'sack' or 'pouch', after a specified number of years, usually after four years. If any profits beyond the amount he had to pay back accrued to the salesman, they were divided between the contracting parties at a specified ratio, either 1:1 or 1:2.[1] The hired hands, such as ass drivers, messenger boys and other personnel, were also paid by being given an opportunity to take part in the business. They received, at the outset, a certain capital which was called their *be'ulātum*, a term indicating that they could use this money as they saw fit. They had to pay back the same amount at the end of the journey. The men usually invested the money in woven materials which they purchased in Ashur and sold at a profit in Asia Minor or on the road. The profit they made was the payment of their labour. In later periods, this method, under various designations, became the usual way of paying hired hands.[2] The Assyrians in the Old Assyrian period must have developed this method of payment out of the experience that there is no limit to the individual's ingenuity when he is given an opportunity to make a profit.

The ample funds which Erishum generated by levelling tolls and taxes on his businessmen were, at least in part, invested in construction activity in the capital city. He rebuilt the Ashur temple at Ashur with all its auxiliary buildings,[3] and he built a sanctuary for the god Adad on the site where subsequently a double sanctuary, dedicated to Adad and Anu, was erected by Shamshi-Adad I and rebuilt by Tiglath-pileser I.[4] Besides brick inscriptions from these sanctuaries, only a rather fragmentary

[1] §IV, 16, 308 ff. [2] §IV, 15; §IV, 18, 188, with n. 2.
[3] G, 4, 10 ff., nos. 1–8. [4] See above pp. 741 and 751; G, 4, 16 ff., nos. 9–11.

alabaster statue with an inscription of about twelve lines was found in the ruins of the Ashur temple;[1] but at Kanesh, a long and most interesting inscription of Erishum was excavated in a building which had served as a scribal school, the text apparently having been used as a specimen of good styling.[2] The inscription deals with the construction of the 'sacred *mušlāl*', which is what might be called in modern terms 'the supreme court building'. The structure was known from an inscription of Adad-nirari I (1304–1273 B.C.), who rebuilt it but who, to all appearances, had not been able to determine the previous builder. However, the excavator of the structure which is located at the foot of a steep trail leading up to the temple tower of Ashur had found bricks inscribed with Erishum's name.[3] One of the two gates of this building, most likely that leading up to Ashur's temenos, was called 'Gate of the oath of the god of the Land', whereas the other, obviously that leading down to the abyss, was the 'Gate of the Divine Judges'. From Erishum's inscription the names of these seven divine judges are known; one of them is called 'Justice', another one 'He listens to Prayer', a third one 'His Word is true', and so on. It may be mentioned here that the 'gate of the god' is several times mentioned in legal documents from Asia Minor as the place which a person had to enter in order to swear an oath or make a solemn declaration before the judges.[4] Some texts mention legal decisions rendered by 'the City', and it is likely that it was in the *mušlāl*-building that the judges representing the City held their sessions. One such legal decision makes it clear that the ruler himself presided over the supreme court sessions. It begins with these words: 'Seal of the *waklum*; the City rendered judgment (thus).'[5] The case tablet of this decision bears the seal of Erishum's grandson, Sharrum-kēn (Sargon I of Assyria), which was discussed previously.[6] In one instance, a merchant owed a considerable amount of money to one of the eponyms. Three other men were inscribed in the promissory note as guarantors, and the court of the City then ruled that one of the guarantors had to pay the debt. In this case it is likely that the court of the City was involved in the matter because the creditor was the eponym who appears to have had the function of a finance minister.

[1] §III, 26, 159.
[2] §IV, 12, 10; some improved readings §IV, 8, 48, n. 243; §IV, 24, 145 f., n. 1.
[3] G, 1, plate 30 and pp. 68 and 120 f. and 121, n. 1.
[4] §IV, 5, no. 286.
[5] *Ibid.* no. 327.
[6] See above, pp. 710 f; also below, pp. 767 f.

Under Erishum's son and successor, Ikunum, the fortification wall of the city of Ashur was rebuilt. This is known not only from the mention of Ikunum as one of the previous builders in the afore-cited building inscription of Shalmaneser III,[1] who lists Ikunum's restoration after that of Puzur-Ashur, but also from one of the texts from Kanesh[2] which deals with a message from the City to the *kārum* Kanesh informing it that their contribution to the cost of the fortification wall had been set at ten minas of silver. The prince, so it is reported, had written himself for the money and his message was to be read to each of the *kārum* organizations in Asia Minor; then the money which was collected was to be sealed and sent to Ashur as soon as possible. It would be interesting to know which other cities outside of Asia Minor had been ordered by Ikunum to send contributions. The peculiar fact is that numerous Assyrian settlements in Asia Minor and in northern Mesopotamia are mentioned many times in the Old Assyrian texts, and also Gasur-Nuzi is mentioned; but no city in Assyria proper except Ashur is referred to in any of the documents. Nor do any of the royal inscriptions of this period make mention of any building activity in any city other than Ashur. It is not known either whether the fortification wall had been destroyed or damaged in a war or whether it needed repairs because of ordinary wear only. It is known, however, that the contemporary kings of Eshnunna pursued an aggressive policy and the possibility must be reckoned with that an enemy army had advanced as far as the capital city. Ikunum's reign does not appear to have been very long; for not only did the afore-mentioned business transaction which had begun under Erishum[3] drag on until the reign of Sharrum-kēn, but, to judge by the pertinent information contained in Ashur-rīm-nisheshu's account, also the restoration of the fortification wall of the capital city was completed by Sharrum-kēn. This king's reign must have been remembered by posterity as the apogee of the Old Assyrian period representing an age of wealth and of power for the country. For reckoning in terms of the 'long' king-list, about three 350-year periods later, an ambitious young king chose the name Sargon the Younger in the hope of bringing back the golden age of his two older namesakes.

At the time of Sharrum-kēn's second successor, Naram-Sin of Assyria, events took place which threatened to upset the peace

[1] See above, p. 747 with n. 6.
[2] § v, 2, no. 1; § iv, 7, 197; § iv, 20, 65 ff.
[3] See above, p. 710; *J.A.O.S.* 78 (1958), 101.

and prosperity which seem to have characterized Sharrum-kēn's rule. The 'standard version' of the king-list tersely reports: 'At the time of Naram-Sin, Shamshi-Adad went to Babylonia.' For what purpose and under what conditions he went is not known. On the positive side, however, it is known that Ibiq-Adad II of Eshnunna had conquered Rapiqum,[1] and it is further known from previous and subsequent captures of this border town that the Assyrians considered Rapiqum in unfriendly hands a danger to their security and to their lines of communication.[2] And it can further be shown that the end of the rule of Ibiq-Adad II of Eshnunna occurred a few years before Shamshi-Adad's accession to the Assyrian throne. Dadusha's last year corresponded with Shamshi-Adad's 29th;[3] Dadusha ruled for at least eleven years;[4] his brother and predecessor, Naram-Sin of Eshnunna, ruled for at least twelve years;[5] at least two years must be reckoned for Iqish-Tishpak and his father, Ibni-Erra,[6] and besides there are at least six year names that are thus far unattributable. It becomes apparent that Naram-Sin of Assyria despatched Shamshi-Adad, at that time a subject of his, with an army to Babylonia, to drive Ibiq-Adad II away from Babylonian soil. That Shamshi-Adad was successful in this undertaking can be inferred from the appearance on the throne of Eshnunna of two men, Ibni-Erra and Iqish-Tishpak, who obviously did not belong to the dynasty of Ibiq-Adad II and separated the rule of this king from those of his two sons. They must have been placed on the throne by the victorious Assyrian army, but they could not maintain themselves once the Assyrians withdrew their troops.

Acting like many a successful army commander throughout history, Shamshi-Adad then seized, on his return from Babylonia, first Ekallatum and then, after having resided there for three years, Ashur. To judge by the Khorsabad copy of the 'standard version' of the king-list, Erishum II, the last ruler of the Puzur-Ashur dynasty, must have ruled for at least two years, because in the fragmentary line which contained the number of his regnal years the plural sign after year is preserved. Thus it is most likely that, for the final phase of his usurpation, Shamshi-Adad awaited the death of his overlord, Naram-Sin of Assyria.

[1] §IV, 6, 127. [2] §I, 13, 442 ff. [3] *Ibid.* 445.
[4] *Ibid.* 440, n. 1. [5] §IV, 23, 1, 82. [6] *Ibid.* 1, 78.

V. THE RELIGION

Since, aside from the few afore-mentioned texts from the school of scribes, all the documents excavated in Asia Minor come either from commercial or administrative archives, it is not surprising that texts of purely religious contents are very scarce. One such text has been known for many years,[1] some others have come to light in the excavations of the past decade. The former text is a poem describing an evil demon, a daughter of Anum, whom her heavenly father cast down to earth because of her evil scheming. Yet even the evil demon's actions worked out for the benefit of mankind—'the godless person she straightforwardly attacked', and of the lions which might have represented a major threat to the travelling merchants, she weakened the limbs. An interesting feature of the text is contained in the introductory line of the poem; it states that the demon 'is one'. This 'oneness' which appears here for the first time in Akkadian literature obviously means 'she is unique', in so far as she is 'pure' (line 1), on the one hand, and 'evil', on the other, even as her actions work out for the best although they are the result of wicked planning.

Another religious text of which so far only a summary translation has been published[2] appears to deal particularly with the problems confronting the travelling merchants. It tells of a black dog lying in wait for a caravan. This black dog demon may possibly embody thirst, because the text continues to speak of the daughters of the sweet-water god Ea and of drawing pure water from the river. This latter reference is of particular interest because, as is well known from the abundant material from Lagash, one of the daughters of Ea was intimately connected with the rivers and canals around this Babylonian city; it was Nanshe, the divine patroness of Nina whose identity with the original patroness of Nineveh was suggested above.[3] A similar relationship may well exist between another religious text from Kanesh[4] and a text from Lagash; for so far as can be judged from the few words of the Kanesh text published in translation only, both invoke reeds and reed thickets as the gods' favoured plants.[5] Religious features such as these, common to the Babylonian city of Nina and the Old Assyrian material, may well bear witness to Ninevite influence on the religion which otherwise is overwhelmingly dominated by the national god, Ashur.

[1] §IV, 24. [2] §V, 1, 20 f. [3] See above, p. 731 with n. 1.
[4] §V, 1, 21. [5] For Lagash see G, 16, 6, *sub* h.

Even though texts of a purely religious nature are rare, allusions to religious subjects are sufficiently numerous to provide information about the ideas of the Assyrians in the early centuries of their history. Their national god Ashur embodied for them more or less their homeland and their capital city. While the people of Sippar swear their oaths by Shamash and their king, those of Babylon by Marduk and their king, the Assyrians swore by 'the City and the prince' (*nīš ālim u rubā'im*)[1] or 'the City and the lord'.[2] The fact mentioned above that the supreme court building was at the foot of the Ashur temenos also suggests that it actually represented a religious court over which the king presided as Ashur's earthly representative. It is significant in this respect that, on the seal with which he legalized the judgement of the city,[3] Sharrum-kēn (Sargon I of Assyria) was called '*iššiakkum* of the god Ashur',[4] whereas in other instances the title is followed by the 'City of Ashur'[5] and again in others by 'the divine City of Ashur',[6] thus proving without any doubt the identity, in the view of this period, of the god and the city. When a man had to be absent from the city of Ashur for an extended period of time, the members of his family who remained in Assyria urged him to 'come and see the eye of Ashur',[7] or, in another instance, 'to seize Ashur's foot'. Ashur was assumed to disapprove of a person who, for the sake of earning more money, remained absent from his city for an extended period of time. Two women, after having consulted various priestesses and women-seers in the capital city, write to Imdi-ilum, one of the prominent members of the Assyrian business community at Kanesh: 'Ashur warned you over and over again. You love money, (but) neglect your soul; can you not do Ashur's will in the City! Urgent! When you hear this message come and see Ashur's eye and save your soul!'[8] In a letter written by the aforementioned Pūshu-kēn, who corresponded repeatedly with the royal house, he mentions that he 'asked the god' for a certain number of years before he set out to Asia Minor; and he obviously was afraid to incur Ashur's wrath by extending the leave of absence he had been granted. All this notwithstanding the fact that there were sanctuaries of Ashur in the major cities of Asia Minor.[9] It was probably in order to exculpate those merchants

[1] §IV, 5, 277, n. c.
[2] *Ibid.* II, 15, n. a; 76, n. d.; cf. the frequent personal name *Ili-ālum*, 'My God is the City'.
[3] See above, p. 760.
[4] §V, 5, pl. v, Abb. 4.
[5] G, 4, 4 ff.
[6] *Ibid.* 4, n. 3.
[7] §IV, 8, 75.
[8] §V, 2, no. 5.
[9] See above, p. 718.

whom their business compelled to spend the greater part of their lives in Asia Minor that a certain religious theory extended Ashur's rule from the homeland on the Tigris to the far-off province. Instead of being merely 'god of the land' (as he was called in the afore-discussed supreme court building) or 'king of the land', Ashur was sometimes called Sharra-mātēn, 'king of the two lands', the second land of Ashur obviously being the region around Kanesh. However, the merchants' wives who remained in Ashur do not appear to have been convinced by this solution.

The 'City' which thus appears to be virtually identical with the god Ashur was also an administrative organ. The envoy of the city, together with the *kārum* Kanesh, was the executive power in Asia Minor, and the afore-discussed letter requesting a contribution to the construction of the fortification wall by Ikunum was transmitted to the pertinent officers by 'the envoy of the City'. This same administration called 'the City' also took part in the profitable business of sending merchandise to Asia Minor for sale there; in many cases the lead shipments from Ashur are reported to have been provided with the 'seal of the City'. That here again the ruler himself presided over the city organization is suggested by a letter in which, even though the beginning is broken, the formula 'before Ashur and my god I will bless you', indicates that it was written on the king's initiative, for only he uses this formula.[1] The letter deals with the shipment of merchandise among which was a large amount of lead 'with the seal of the City'. A letter addressed by the *kārum* Kanesh to all the *kārum* organizations under its jurisdiction and to its own envoy in Tukhpia deals with a shipment of lead belonging to the City.[2] The parallelism between this letter and that dispatched by the same sender to the same addressees on behalf of the ruler when he wished to raise funds for the fortification wall makes it clear that here again the owner of the lead was the organization headed by the 'prince'.

As was intimated above when discussing the functions of the supreme court building, one of the important attributions of the god Ashur was the administration of justice. It will be recalled that one of the gates of this building was named from the 'oath of the god of the land'. Oaths invoking the 'god (or) goddess of the oath' are said to have recently come to light in the excavations at Kanesh.[3] It is also worth noting that in Kanesh, in the absence of a building such as the *mušlāl* at Ashur, testimony was given

[1] §v, 3, 1, no. 189, l. $y+7$.
[2] §v, 8, plate 34*a*, no. K. 155, now numbered K. 326.
[3] §v, 1, 20.

and judgements were rendered in the presence of 'Ashur's dagger' or 'Ashur's boomerang',[1] the idea being that the one who gave false testimony or who passed an unjust judgement would be struck down by these weapons. This idea appears, in fact, to be expressed in Erishum's *mušlāl* inscription, but the context is too fragmentary to make out what would have happened to him who 'arose for false testimony' and to the judge who pronounced a false judgement. Honesty and dependability were, of course, vital in a business community in which, at least among the Semites, much of the business was done on credit.

By his nature, the god Ashur is the heavenly sphere referred to in the Epic of Creation by the Sumerian designation AN.ŠAR. Yet as the genuinely Sumerian pantheon does not contain a deity of this name and function—closest to it would be the Sumerian AN—it is obvious that AN.ŠAR is a comparatively late Sumerianization of the Assyrian god's name. That Ashur was originally a deity of west Semitic origin can likewise be inferred from the Epic of Creation where Ashur is said to be the son of Lakhmu and Lakhamu. The fact that these two divine names appear in the variant forms Lakhma and Lakhama, i.e. with the ending *a* of the Amorite determined state, suggests *a priori* that they belong to the west. If it is further remembered that in the western part of the Fertile Crescent city names are frequently composed of a divine name preceded by *bēth*, 'house, residence of' (e.g. Bēth 'Anath, Bēth Dagōn, Bēth Shemesh, Bēth El, Bēth Ba'al), it is apparent that 'Bethlehem' is a name of this type containing the divine element Lekhem. As west-Semitic Shemesh appears in Amorite as Samsum, Lekhem is bound to appear as Lakhmu. In other words, Ashur's father and creator is one of the deities worshipped in 'Bēth Lekhem'. This conclusion is well in line with the evidence referred to above,[2] that Ilaprat, another deity worshipped by the Assyrians of the Old Assyrian period, likewise originated in Bethlehem.

Second in importance among the gods of the city of Ashur was Enlil, who had both a temple and a temple tower. The origin of the cult of Enlil which, at first approach, seems surprising in a country where Sumerian influence was virtually non-existent, becomes manifest from a passage in an inscription of Esarhaddon[3] who connects the cult of Anu and Enlil with Baltil; accordingly, he was of the opinion that these cults actually belonged to the pre-Semitic period of the capital city. That this opinion is correct in so far as Enlil is concerned is apparent from the important

[1] §v, 6.
[2] See above, p. 720.
[3] §III, 4, 2, ll. 27 ff.

role the weather-god plays in the Hurrian pantheon.[1] When Tiglath-pileser I and others allude to the sanctuary of the 'Old Lord' (*bēlu labiru*),[2] they obviously refer likewise to the weather-god of the former Subarian population without, however, using for this Hurrian deity the Sumerian name Enlil. In fact, it may have been during the Old Akkadian period that this name was applied to the pre-Semitic weather-god of the capital city. Among the Old Assyrian merchants, the cult of this deity was not popular. Only a few men bear theophorous names composed with the element Enlil.[3]

Far more popular was the west Semitic weather-god Adad from whom almost one-tenth of the men in the Old Assyrian texts were named; it may be stated here that, at least in so far as Assyria is concerned, the pronunciation of this divine name was Adad as evidenced not only by Middle Assyrian spellings such as that already quoted[4] and by the Nuzi name *Re-ša-dá-ad-we*, but also by Old Assyrian writings such as *Ṣí-la-da-ad*.[5] Among the Assyrian rulers of this period even as among their Babylonian contemporaries names composed with the element *šumu* or, in the Amorite form used in Babylonia, *sumu*, 'the holy name', are rather frequent. *Ilu-šum-ma* has the meaning 'God is really the holy name', while Erishum (i.e. Irishum) signifies 'He who shepherds is the holy name'. Outside the royal family, however, these names were not popular. Very popular, on the contrary, was the astral Ishtar, both as the planet Venus, as which she appears under the name Ishtar *kakkubum*, 'Ishtar, the star', and as Ishtar-ṣād, the star Sirius.[6]

Some significant insight into the religious ideas of the Old Assyrian period can be derived from the scenes depicted on the seal impressions which are found on the letters and documents from Asia Minor. Taking as a typical example the finely engraved seal of Sharrum-kēn,[7] one sees to the right a deity seated on a throne; in the style of the period, the god is characterized as such by the archaic sheepskin frock and the horned crown. Before the deity's head there is a lunar crescent including a sun-emblem, characterizing the seated deity as Ashur, the god of the heavenly sphere comprising both the sun and the moon. A lower deity, likewise with a horned crown and a sheepskin frock, but walking and raising one hand toward the seated god in the attitude of adoration, introduces the king, whom he holds by the

[1] See above, pp. 731 f.
[2] G, 3, 87, l. 87; §1, 3, 200, ll. 20–32.
[3] §IV, 8, 32.
[4] See above, p. 753.
[5] §IV, 8, 2.
[6] §V, 4.
[7] §V, 5, plate V, Abb. 4.

hand, into the presence of the supreme god. The lower deity is characterized as the moon-god by the lunar crescent behind his head. This scene which recurs on many Old Assyrian seals with individual variations is easily explained as a dream vision which the king beheld when he retired for his sacred sleep on the summit of the temple tower. Frequently it was an order for the construction of a sanctuary which the god conveyed to the king in such an interview. However, as is known from an inscription of Sennacherib as well as from biblical passages, in the course of the interview the supreme god was also expected to bestow upon the human being that sublime wisdom which was to enable him to give authoritative orders agreeable to his divine lord.[1] It is in full agreement with this religious idea that, according to the results of the excavations at Ashur, the temple towers belong to the oldest buildings traceable in the city.

It is equally significant that the god introducing the king into Ashur's presence was the moon-god. For this shows that Sin, who was the royal family's patron god in the Neo-Assyrian period,[2] played a preponderant role in Assyria's state religion already in the Old Assyrian period. Among the Old Assyrian merchants, one-tenth of the theophorous names are composed with the divine element Sin. The percentage is even higher if names composed with Laban (the moon-god's name in the Lebanon region) or with elements such as Washib-Uri are included in the count. Several priests of the moon-god (*kumrum*) are mentioned in the texts. Incidentally, it should be stated that, in spite of various spellings, the pronunciation of the moon-god's name in Assyria throughout the centuries was Sin; this can be gathered from spellings such as *Si-in-iš-me-a-ni*,[3] *Si-in-rabi*,[4] *Si-ri-me-ni*,[5] etc. The frequency of personal names composed with the divine elements Ishtar, Sin, and Shamash shows that basically the Assyrians were worshippers of the heavenly bodies. That these deities also figured as the protective gods of the various tribes and clans can be gathered from exclamations such as 'May Ashur, Amurrum, and Ishtar *kakkubum*, the gods of our fathers, look on as witnesses!'[6] The strong west-Semitic ties which the Assyrians of this period still maintained in spite of their having been sedentary for more than half a millennium are shown by the fact that the gods most frequently mentioned in these exclamations as the 'gods of my father' or of 'our fathers' are Amurrum, Ilaprat,

[1] §1, 11, 84 ff.
[2] *Ibid.* 73 ff., with n. 198.
[3] §v, 3, 1, no. 97, l. 16.
[4] §11, 14, no. 224, l. x+8.
[5] §v, 9, no. 23, l. 2; no. 20, l. 3.
[6] §v, 7, 43 with n. 71.

and Ishtar *kakkubum*, all three of whom belong to the western part of the Fertile Crescent. In view of the preponderant role which the cult of the stars played in Assyria ever since the Semites replaced the original Subarian population, the possibility must be reckoned with that those portions of the Epic of Creation which deal with the creation of the heavenly sphere and of the stars originate in Assyria in the Old Assyrian period and not in Babylonia where they are without parallel.

VI. THE CALENDAR

The fifth tablet of the Epic of Creation begins by relating that the creator assigned to each of the great gods his position in the sky, each star or stellar constellation being the image of one of the gods.[1] He then defined the year as consisting of twelve months to each of which he allotted three constellations so that ten days corresponded to one constellation. The month thus was divided into three ten-day periods. Calendars of this type are well known to have been in use by the Egyptians and by the Arabs who, at least linguistically, divide the month into three decades of days. The Old and Middle Assyrian calendar was of this type. The following are the names of the months as used in the Old and Middle Assyrian periods: Ab sharrāni; Khubur; Ṣippum; Qarrātum; Tanmarta; Ti'inātum or Sin;[2] Kuzallu; Allanātum; Bēlti-ekallim; Narmak Ashur sha sarrātim; Narmak Ashur sha kinātim; Makhur ilī. Several of these names betray the astronomical origin of the calendar: Tanmarta, '(heliacal) rising',[3] was, at least theoretically, the month of the heliacal rising of Sirius, the brightest of all the fixed stars. As mentioned before, this star was represented in the pantheon of the Old Assyrian period by the goddess Ishtar-ṣād. Bēlti-ekallim, the name of the ninth month, was the name of a goddess represented in the sky by the large fixed star Vega (α Lyrae), the heliacal rising of which occurred in the course of the fourth month after the rising of Sirius. The name of the twelfth month, Makhur ilī, 'Meeting of the gods', refers to the conjunction of the moon and the Pleiades preceding the latter's heliacal setting.[4] The second month, Khubur, 'the nether world', was the month of the heliacal rising of the Pleiades which represented the Evil Seven, a group of seven deities hostile to mankind who were believed to

[1] §VI, 1, 136.
[2] §VI, 6, 36, n. 4.
[3] §VI, 2, 91.
[4] §II, 10, 144 with n. 2.

reside in the nether world. Hence the early part of the second month was dedicated to the service of these evil spirits.[1]

Besides the time-unit month, the Assyrian calendar contained a time-unit called *ḫamuštum* which had originally contained five days. For the sake of convenience, however, two such periods were usually joined so as to form ten-day units, traces of which are still found in documents from the time of Ashur-uballiṭ I. These periods, even as the years, were named from officials, so that each ten-day period bore the names of two men.

The eponym year did not have the same length as the commercial year, for the annual change of eponym moved slowly backwards through the months; hence the eponym year was determined either by an astronomical phenomenon such as the heliacal rising of a certain star or by an agricultural season. The commercial year, on the other hand, appears to have comprised 365 days, the extra five days most likely having been added in the form of an intercalary month every six years. To be sure, intercalary months are mentioned neither in the Old nor in the Middle Assyrian texts. However, there is evidence that at the time of the eponym change a month was sometimes doubled in such a way that the month which ended one eponym year was repeated as the first month of the next eponym year. In this way, for instance, the month Narmak Ashur sha kinātim of eponym A was followed by the month Narmak Ashur sha kinātim of the eponym A+1.

Even as in other countries and ages where a calendar based on a year of 365 days was being used,[2] the months of this calendar moved slowly forward through the seasons or, in other words, the seasons moved slowly backward through the months, the speed of this move amounting to one month every 120 years. An adjustment of the Assyrian calendar to its original seasons was made in the reign of Shalmaneser I (1272–1243 B.C.). However, since after this calendar reform the months continued to move slowly away from the seasons to which they belonged, the Assyrians turned increasingly toward the Babylonian luni-solar calendar. Double dates equating an Assyrian and a Babylonian date occur at the time of Tiglath-pileser I, and eventually the Assyrian dates together with the Assyrian month names became entirely obsolete.

[1] §VI, 5. [2] §VI, 4, 4 ff.

J.E.S.H.O. Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
J.H.S. Journal of Hellenic Studies
J.N.E.S. Journal of Near Eastern Studies
J.P.O.S. Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
J.R.A.S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
J.S.O.R. Journal of the Society of Oriental Research
J.W.H. Journal of World History
K.F. Kleinasiatische Forschungen
Kgl. Dan. Vid. Selsk., hist.-fil. Medd. Konglige Danske videnskaplige Selskap, historisk-filosofiska Meddelninger
L.S.S. Leipziger semitistische Studien
M.A.D.G. Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft
M.C.S. Manchester Cuneiform Studies
M.D.O.G. Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
Mél. Dussaud. Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud
Mél. Maspero. Mélanges Maspero (Mém. Inst. fr. 66–8)
Mél. Polotsky. Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in honour of H. J. Polotsky
Mém. Ac. Inscr. B.-L. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
Mém. D. Iran. Mémoires de la Délégation en Iran
Mém. D.P. Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse
Mém. Inst. fr. Caire. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
Mém. Miss. fr. Caire. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire
Metr. Mus. Studies. Metropolitan Museum Studies
Mitt. des d. arch. Inst. Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts
Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo. Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo
M.J. Museum Journal, University of Pennsylvania
Mon. Piot. Fondation Eugène Piot. (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.) Monuments et mémoires
M.S.L. Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon
M.V.A[e].G. Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft
Nachr. Göttingen. Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse
O.E.C.T. Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
O.I.C. Oriental Institute Communications
O.I.P. Oriental Institute Publications
O.L.Z. Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
Op. Ath. Opuscula Atheniensia. Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae
Or. Orientalia
Or. antiq. Oriens antiquus
Or. Suecana. Orientalia Suecana
Öster. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse. Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse
P.B.S. University of Pennsylvania. The University Museum. Publications of the Babylonian Section
P.E.F.Q.S. Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement
P.E.Q. Palestine Exploration Quarterly
P.J.B. Palästina Jahrbuch
P.P.S. Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society
Praktika Arch. Et. Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας

Proc. Amer. Philosoph. Soc. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
Proc. Brit. Acad. *Proceedings of the British Academy*
Proc. Linn. Soc. *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London*
P.S.B.A. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
Pub. M.M.A.E.E. *Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition*
P.W. Pauly–Wissowa–Kroll–Mittelhaus, *Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
Q.D.A.P. *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*
R.A. *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale*
R.D.A.C. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*
Rec. Champ. *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion*
Rec. trav. *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*
R.E.G. *Revue des études grecques*
Rev. arch. *Revue archéologique*
Rev. bibl. *Revue biblique*
Rev. d'égyptol. *Revue d'égyptologie*
Rev. ét. anc. *Revue des études anciennes*
Rev. hist. *Revue historique*
Rev. hist. rel. *Revue de l'histoire des religions*
R.H.A. *Revue hittite et asianique*
Riv. stud. or. *Rivista degli studi orientali*
R.L.A. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
S.A.O.C. *Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*
Sitzungsb. Berlin (*München*, etc.) *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen* (*Bayerischen* etc.) *Akademie der Wissenschaften*
Sov. Arkh. *Sovetskaya Arkhitektura*
T.C.L. *Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales. Textes cunéiformes*
Top. Bibl. B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*
Trans. Philol. Soc. *Transactions of the Philological Society*
Trans. Phil. Soc. *Transactions of the Philosophical Society*
T.T.A.E.D. *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi.* (After vol. 6: *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*)
T. u. M. *Texte und Materialien der Hilprecht Sammlung, Jena*
U.E. *Ur Excavations*
U.E.T. *Ur Excavations: Texts*
Unters. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens* (ed. K. Sethe, later H. Kees)
Urk. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*
U.V.B. *Uruk: vorläufiger Bericht*
V.A.B. *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*
V.A.S. *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*
We. Or. *Die Welt des Orients*
W.O. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien*
W.V.D.O.G. *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
W.Z.K.M. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
Y.O.S. *Yale Oriental Studies*

Z.A. Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie
Z.Ä.S. Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
Z.A.W. Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
Z.D.M.G. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
Z.D.P.V. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
Z. f. vergleich. Sprachforschung. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung
Z.M.R.W. Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religions-Wissenschaft

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CHAPTER XXVI(*a*)

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